

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE
CLEVELAND, OHIO, AREA
PART 1

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JUNE 4 AND 5, 1962

INDEX IN PART 2

Printed for the use of the
Committee on Un-American Activities



COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

Public hearings relating to Communist activities within the Cleveland, Ohio, area, were held by the Committee on Un-American Activities in Washington, D.C., on June 4, 5, 6, and 7, 1962. The principal witness before the committee was Julia Clarice Brown, who testified that her initial contact with the Communist Party had been in the year 1947, when she assisted in the political campaign of Albert Young, then a candidate for the Cleveland City Council. She related the circumstances under which she had been deceived into joining the Communist Party, having been led to believe that she was joining a "civil rights" organization which was working for the betterment of Negroes.

Mrs. Brown further explained that she quit the Communist Party approximately 9 months later when she had come to realize the Communist Party was "a conspiracy and trying to destroy my country." Having reached that conclusion, she thereupon voluntarily contacted the FBI, informing that agency of her suspicion. Later, in the summer of 1951, Mrs. Brown was asked by the FBI to again associate herself with the Communist Party as an undercover operative. This she agreed to do. She remained a "member" of the Communist Party in Cleveland, Ohio, until May of 1960, at which time she left the party to take up residence in California.

Mrs. Brown's testimony was productive of much new and useful information concerning Communist tactics in fund raising; racial discrimination within the Communist Party structure, described by Mrs. Brown as "Jim Crow" practices; the implementation of "united front" tactics which was prescribed as the "chief task" of the party at the December 1959 National Communist Party Convention in New York City; and the organization in 1958 of a new Communist splinter group, the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

Additional information was obtained relating particularly to the creation and manipulations of two organizations, namely, the Sojourners for Truth and Justice and the National Negro Labor Council, which were designed to involve Negroes in the activities and objectives of the Communist Party. Mrs. Brown testified about the activities of numerous organizations operating within the Cleveland, Ohio, area, including the Progressive Party, the Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Ohio Bill of Rights Conference, and the Myrtle Dennis Defense Committee. She detailed the action of local Communist Party members in the employment of these groups for the exploitation of Communists and non-Communists alike.

Of special interest was her testimony revealing Communist Party tactics in bringing about the dissolution of front organizations over which it had lost control or which no longer served party purposes. Mrs. Brown also contributed information relating to the infiltration of church organizations and the use of such organizations for fund-

raising, propaganda, and recruiting purposes; tactics employed by the party for the defense of its members involved in violations of the Smith Act and other Federal and State laws; the Communist organizational structure in the Cleveland, Ohio, area; and the party's activities in the political arena.

The activities of more than 100 current and former residents of the Cleveland area, identified by Mrs. Brown as persons she had known to be members of the Communist Party (many of whom were still active in Communist Party affairs as late as May 1960 when she left the area), were described by Mrs. Brown.

Eighteen persons from the Cleveland area and one from Youngstown, Ohio—all identified by Mrs. Brown as Communist Party members—were subpoenaed as witnesses before the committee. Among them were persons in the legal and teaching professions, church and civic organizations, and other important fields of endeavor. All invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to answer questions with respect to present or past membership in the Communist Party, with the exception of William Henry Cooper and Margaret Wherry. Mrs. Wherry denied present membership in the Communist Party but invoked the fifth amendment and refused to testify concerning past party membership. Mr. Cooper stated that he was not presently a member of the Communist Party and had not been one for the past 10 years. Mr. Cooper invoked the fifth amendment privilege in response to all questions concerning prior membership and activities in the Communist Party.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CLEVELAND, OHIO, AREA

Part 1

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, of California; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio; August E. Johansen, of Michigan; and Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., general counsel; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; and Neil E. Wettermann, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

It is noted for the record that there is a quorum of the committee.

This hearing was authorized by committee action taken on the 26th day of April 1961. The resolution is part of the committee minutes.

The primary function of the Committee on Un-American Activities is to recommend to Congress legislation which will assist in protecting this country from Communist subversion. Communist efforts to undermine the United States are carried out by both foreign and domestic agents—in educational and religious activity, in the fields of science and culture, in political campaigns and elections, in labor-management relations, in diplomacy, trade, race relations—in every conceivable field.

The World Communist Movement and its United States arm have developed certain fundamental principles of subversion which are almost unalterable. For the most part, the strategies based on these principles and devised by these conspirators in the past are still being used today, just as they were 5, 10, 20, and 30 years ago.

From time to time, however, even the party's, more or less, basic strategy is somewhat altered. Moreover, within the conspiracy there is a constant, unending assessment and reassessment of long-and-short-range goals and of the effectiveness of the tactics being utilized to achieve them.

There is also continuing development of new tactics designed to speed and improve Communist undermining activity and to offset the legislative, administrative, and other steps taken by the Congress, the executive branch, and the American people to preserve their liberty.

Last November, the committee held hearings which revealed the structure, organization, and leadership of the Communist Party, its subservience to the Soviet Communist Party, and the basic principles on which it operates. The hearings proved, by the words of Communists themselves, that the Communist Party is the tool and agent of a foreign power, the Soviet Union, and that it is fundamentally totalitarian, undemocratic, and un-American in nature.

Since shortly after the death of Stalin in 1953, renewed emphasis has been placed on united-front tactics by the Soviet leaders of world communism. Numerous communications stressing the importance of this tactic, which proved so successful during the thirties in winning non-Communist support for Communist objectives, have been directed to all Communist parties from the Kremlin.

A unanimous statement by 81 of the world's Communist parties, which met in Moscow November-December 1960, declared that "the broadest possible united front" was "essential" to the victory of world communism. United States Communist Party leader Gus Hall immediately echoed this line in a major address to the National Committee of the Communist Party on January 20, 1961.

In these hearings the committee will seek to ascertain the conspiratorial techniques and propaganda devices used in implementing "united-front" and other Communist Party directives within the United States. It will also endeavor to obtain knowledge of the structure, objectives, and activities of the Communist Party in the Cleveland, Ohio, area. The legislative purposes are adequately set forth in the committee resolution:

APRIL 26, 1961.

BE IT RESOLVED, that a hearing by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman may determine, and on such date or dates as the Chairman may designate, relating to:

1. Communist conspiratorial techniques and propaganda used in implementing Communist Party directives within the United States, with special reference to the so-called United Popular Front tactics of the Communist Party, the legislative purpose being to determine the need for amendment of the Internal Security Act of 1950, so as to make its provisions applicable to persons engaged in such activities; and

2. The structure, objectives and activities of the Communist Party in the Cleveland, Ohio, area, for the legislative purpose of obtaining necessary information designed to aid the Committee and Congress in determining whether the Internal Security Act of 1950 should be amended in a manner to make unlawful membership in the Communist Party of the United States.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that any subcommittee appointed pursuant to this resolution be authorized to hear any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee.

Before starting I would like to state that this committee was originally supposed to convene some time ago and there was a change in date. A telegram was sent to the witnesses. This committee did not release the names of any of the witnesses under subpoena and is now investigating the manner in which the names became public. There has been a great deal of agitation in Ohio because this information has been obtained and published, but for the benefit of those people who are hitting upon this unfortunate leak as a means of attacking the committee, I would like to say that this is certainly adding a lot of comfort to those people who are not interested in preserving our form of government.

In that connection I would like to read a letter of June 1, 1962, to the Attorney General of the United States in which I stated:

The Committee on Un-American Activities is vitally concerned with an occurrence which took place on May 12, 1962. On May 11, this Committee advised by telegram, witnesses in the Cleveland area, who had been subpoenaed to appear in Washington on May 21, 22, 23, and 24, of the postponement of their appearances to June 4, 5, 6, and 7. On the following day, the names of the witnesses appeared in an issue of the *Cleveland Press* in Cleveland, Ohio. The staff of this Committee has conducted an extensive investigation and has concluded that this information was not made public or caused to be made public by any member of the Committee or its staff.

It appears that a very serious violation of law has occurred which thwarts and adversely affects the operation of a congressional committee.

Please let me urge that an immediate investigation be conducted with a view to prosecutive action, if the facts warrant it. It will be appreciated if you will advise me to whom this matter will be assigned, so that one of our investigators may give him all the pertinent facts.

Call your first witness, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Julia Brown please come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your hand? Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. BROWN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JULIA C. BROWN

Mr. NITTLE. For the purposes of the record, Mrs. Brown, would you please state your name, residence, and how long you have resided at your present address?

Mrs. BROWN. My name is Julia Brown. I reside at 6252 South Van Ness Street, Los Angeles, California. I have resided there since June of 1960, moving from Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the place of your birth and the extent of your formal education?

Mrs. BROWN. I was born in Atlanta, Ga., one of five children. My father, Oscar Fortson, was a messenger at the Atlanta National Bank in Atlanta, for 22 years. My mother was a housewife. I have been to the 10th grade in high school.

(At this point Chairman Walter left the hearing room.)

(Mr. Doyle presiding.)

Mr. NITTLE. You have told us that prior to taking up your residence in California, in June of 1960, you resided in Cleveland. How long did you reside in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. Since the summer of 1943.

Mr. NITTLE. Until June 1960?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand that it was during your period of residence in Cleveland that you first came in contact with persons or activities which you later found to be Communist. What date did that occur?

Mrs. BROWN. In the summer of 1947.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you recruited into the Communist Party, and if so, would you state the date?

Mrs. BROWN. In the Christmas holidays of 1947.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Until about August of 1948.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state in a word or two your reasons for leaving the Communist Party in August 1948?

Mrs. BROWN. I found that the Communist Party was a conspiracy and trying to destroy my country.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, you had only 10th grade schooling. Yet, after less than a year in the Communist Party, you saw that it was of a conspiratorial nature and that without doubt it was dedicated to accomplish the destruction of the Government of the United States. On a number of occasions in the past this committee had heard the testimony of highly educated witnesses, persons who are writers, playwrights, and so forth, who admitted that they had been members of the Communist Party for years, yet denied that there was anything subversive or un-American about it and on this basis refused to identify others they knew to be members of the conspiracy, thereby denying to the Congress and the American people important information from which basis a judgment is formed of the extent and nature of the evil and the remedy. Would you care to comment with respect to the refusal of these witnesses to give their testimony?

Mrs. BROWN. You do not have to be educated to find that the Communist Party is a conspiracy. There are three things you do have to have, and that is being loyal, having mother wit, and commonsense.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you rejoin the Communist Party after the initial period when, as you state, you discovered the party was a conspiracy, and if so, when?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did, by request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in the summer of 1951.

Mr. NITTLE. And having rejoined the Communist Party at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, how long did you then remain in the party?

Mrs. BROWN. Until May of 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, we would like to have you detail your experiences in the party during those two periods. What was your first contact with persons whom you later found to be Communist and which led to your involvement with the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. My husband and I moved into a new neighborhood in Cleveland, 3196 East 123d Street. We had neighbors next door, Elizabeth and William Cooper. They visited me and I had expressed that I was interested in politics and wanted to do something for the neighborhood. Later, a couple of months after that, Mr. Cooper called me to the door and introduced me to a man who was standing in my driveway by the name of Joe Hill. I talked with Joe Hill and he asked if I would help in the election of a councilman by the name of Albert Young. I told him that I would. He told me that this man stood for better housing, civil rights, and I thought he would be a good councilman, so I asked him to put a placard on my house, and he did and I worked for Albert Young.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you later ascertain whether Joe Hill was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I certainly did.

Mr. NITTLE. And under what name did you know him?

Mrs. BROWN. As Joe Hill. Yes, I knew him as Joe Hill.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you a small photograph which appears on page 28 of the September 1948 issue of the *National Republic*, identified as Julia Brown Exhibit No. 1. I call your attention to the photograph of the man at the upper left-hand corner of that page, and ask whether you can identify the photograph of the person appearing thereon?

Mrs. BROWN. This is the man that I knew as Joe Hill.¹

Mr. NITTLE. Would you please read to the committee the identifying legend which appears under that photograph?

Mrs. BROWN. "Lou Kaplan, International Organizer of C.I.O. United Electrical Workers Union."

Mr. NITTLE. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that this exhibit be received in evidence.

Mr. DOYLE (presiding). It may be received.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I wish to state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that Louis L. Kaplan has been identified by witnesses in sworn testimony before this committee as a member of the Communist Party, in the first instance by Thomas F. Delaney on October 13, 1952, and in the second instance by Arthur P. Strunk on September 15, 1954. He has been identified as an organizer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union.

Did you, in fact, meet with Joe Hill subsequently in any closed Communist Party meetings?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And would you tell us briefly of those meetings which you attended with Joe Hill?

Mrs. BROWN. I attended closed Communist meetings with Joe Hill at Frieda Katz' home and Sylvia Strauss' home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Frieda Katz to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I most surely did.

Mr. NITTLE. As a matter of fact, she is quite well known as a Communist leader in the Cleveland area, is that correct?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did she occupy a fixed position in the leadership of the Communist Party in Cleveland during the time you knew her?

Mrs. BROWN. I am very sure she did. I don't know the capacity of her work, but I do know that she did occupy—

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you know Frieda Katz as a Communist in the Cleveland, Ohio, area?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until I left Cleveland in 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Sylvia Strauss as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And how long did you know Sylvia Strauss as a member of the Communist Party?

¹ Further investigation by the committee established that at the time of Albert Young's campaign, there was a Communist Party member in the State of Ohio whose real name was Joe Hill and that there was quite a striking resemblance between him and Lou Kaplan, who used "Joe Hill" as a Communist Party name. When Julia Brown was subsequently shown photographs of the party member whose real name was Joe Hill, along side that of Lou Kaplan, she informed the committee that it was not Lou Kaplan who assisted in Albert Young's campaign but the real Joe Hill, whom she knew as a Communist Party member. As subsequently indicated on this page, Lou Kaplan has been previously identified as a member of the Communist Party by two witnesses who testified before the committee.

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe we shall have occasion to refer to her at greater detail in the course of the testimony and therefore we shall now pass to an identification of the Coopers, whom you have mentioned as introducing you to Joe Hill. Did you know William Henry Cooper to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I did. I have been to closed Communist Party meetings with William Cooper from 1948 to the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to indicate, so far as the extent of your knowledge is concerned, that Mr. Cooper became inactive after the middle 1950's?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I wouldn't say that he was inactive. I can only say that I lost contact with him and moved out of the neighborhood and the area that he would have attended closed Communist Party meetings. I was not living in that area.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Elizabeth Cooper, the wife of William Cooper, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And how long did you know Mrs. Cooper to be active in the Communist Party in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until early 1950.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have any knowledge why Mrs. Cooper may have become inactive in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, in the middle 1950's, Mrs. Cooper visited me while I was ill and she warned me against the Communist Party and asked me to get out of it because they did not mean us any good, and that was just how she spoke, and I am sure that Mrs. Cooper had grown a little sour on the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. You are quite sure that Mrs. Cooper had grown a little sour on the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I am very sure.

Mr. NITTLE. You have mentioned Albert Young who was a candidate for city council in Cleveland at that time. Can you tell us anything about Albert Young?

Mrs. BROWN. I knew Albert Young to be a member of the Communist Party. I had attended closed Communist Party meetings with Albert Young at Frieda Katz' home and Sylvia Strauss' home and many others.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have occasion to attend closed Communist Party meetings with the Coopers?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And where did these meetings occur?

Mrs. BROWN. At Sylvia Strauss' home, Frieda Katz' and Margaret Wherry's, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you identify Margaret Wherry as a Communist Party member at whose home you state a closed Communist Party meeting took place?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Margaret Wherry as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. So that to your knowledge she had remained active until you left the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. As far as I know.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, you indicated that you became a formal member of the Communist Party in the Christmas holidays of the year 1947. In what way were you led to become a member of the Communist Party? Did you have conversations with the Coopers that induced in you the desire or the likelihood that you would become a member?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, the Coopers introduced me, brought Frieda Katz to my home one day, and introduced me to her as the leader of the civil rights organization. I talked with Frieda several times because she visited me several times and asked me to join the organization, and somehow I kept putting it off until I had started attending the social gatherings of the Communist Party, and that was when I went in. In the Christmas holidays I attended a party at Frieda Katz' home. When we were ready to leave around 2:30 in the morning she called me back and I sat at the table in her kitchen and signed my name to a piece of paper which I did not read. I learned later it was an application blank.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you first tell us, however, of the conversation that you had with the Coopers with respect to the civil rights organization that you have mentioned previously?

Mrs. BROWN. The Coopers, Mr. Cooper especially, would visit me very often and talk to me about what they called police brutality and lynchings and how these people could help the Negroes obtain their civil rights and help fight against the "capitalist masters," which I thought was all right to a certain extent.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Frieda Katz tell you of the organization which she wished you to join, before you were invited to the party which was later held at her home?

Mrs. BROWN. She told me it was a civil rights organization, and at the time I really thought that it was a legitimate organization fighting for the rights of Negroes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Frieda Katz or the Coopers indicate to you that the organization which she wished you to join was in any way led by members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. No indeed, no indeed.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know at that time whether Frieda Katz or the Coopers were members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us approximately the number of people in attendance at the party held in the home of Frieda Katz during the December holidays of 1947?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I would say at least from 35 to 50 people.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect some of the persons who were in attendance at that party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. I later found them to be Communists.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the names of the persons you recollect who were in attendance and who were members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Sylvia and Abe Strauss—we were at Frieda and Dave Katz' home—Margaret Wherry, Myrtle and Ray Dennis, Edith and Hyman Lumer.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect whether the Krichmareks were in attendance at that time?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, Jean and Anthony Krchmarek. I remember that very distinctly because he wished me well in the party, Communist Party or whatever it was.

Mr. NITTLE. You have previously mentioned Margaret Wherry. Was she in attendance at this party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, she was.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Ann Magedowitz there?

Mrs. BROWN. Ann Magedowitz?

Mr. NITTLE. You pronounce it "Ann Magédowitz." M-a-g-e-d-o-w-i-t-z.

Mrs. BROWN. Ann Magédowitz. That's the way I pronounce it.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us whether Catherine McCastle was in attendance?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, that's right, Catherine McCastle, and Regina Sokol.

Mr. NITTLE. S-o-k-o-l?

Mrs. BROWN. S-o-k-o-l. Pearl and Sak Levin, Shirley Saferstein and her husband, Sanford Saferstein. Eugene Brudno——

Mr. NITTLE. Were the Coopers there?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Both William and Elizabeth Cooper?

Mrs. BROWN. Elizabeth and William Cooper. It's hard to recall the whole 35 or so who were there.

Mr. NITTLE. If I refresh your memory, would you be able to state whether Foster and Mamie McCurdy were present?

Mrs. BROWN. That's right, Foster and Mamie McCurdy, certainly.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Bert Washington?

Mrs. BROWN. Bert Washington was there. He is now deceased.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Eugene Bayer there in attendance?

Mrs. BROWN. Eugene Bayer was in attendance and Ruth Emmer and her husband. I don't remember—no, I don't remember the first name of her husband.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it Jack Emmer?

Mrs. BROWN. Jack Emmer is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. You have already identified Sylvia Strauss as a member of the Communist Party. Did you know her husband, Abe Strauss, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do know him to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us on what basis you make that statement?

Mrs. BROWN. I have attended closed Communist meetings where Abe Strauss was present at Frieda Katz' home, Ruth Emmer's home, Margaret Wherry's home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Abe Strauss have any connection with a newspaper known as the *Morning Freiheit*?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, he did.

Mr. NITTLE. The Communist newspaper?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. I might state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that Abe Strauss, whose name was just mentioned, was identified by another witness, namely, James Dolsen, in sworn testimony before this committee on March 25, 1940. Abe Strauss was apparently most active in the Communist Party in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Matthew

Cvetic testified on February 21, 1950, that Abe Strauss had been transferred from Pittsburgh, where he [Strauss] had been a member of the Communist Party, to Cleveland.

Did you know Dave Katz, husband of Frieda Katz, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And how long was he known to you to be active in the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until June of 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. When you left?

Mrs. BROWN. When I left Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know whether he occupied any position of leadership in the party?

Mrs. BROWN. I am not sure what it was. He seemed to be, but I am not very sure.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Myrtle Dennis to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did. I have attended several closed Communist meetings where Myrtle was present at Hyman Lumer's home, Myrtle Dennis' home, Frieda Katz' home, Margaret Wherry's home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know her husband, Ray Dennis, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And over what period of time did you know him to be active in the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until 1960. May I state that Ray Dennis was in and out of Cleveland. He worked for some union and he was in and out of Cleveland most of the time. He had offices there. He did have offices in Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. What kind of offices?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I think it was a union office, but I do know that Edith Lumer worked for him.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Edith Lumer to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And over what period of time did you know her to be active?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until the late 1950's. I have attended closed Communist meetings with Edith Lumer in her home, in my home, Sylvia Strauss' home, and others. In the late 1950's I will say that she left for New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know her husband, Hyman Lumer, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Hyman Lumer was present in Frieda Katz' home and in his home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. When you say you only knew Edith and Hyman Lumer to be active until the late 1950's, could you tell us what was the basis of that statement?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, they left for New York City. They were sent to New York City by the Communist Party for some other assignment of some kind. I really don't know what it was.

Mr. NITTLE. I would state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that Hyman Lumer is known as the national education secretary and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the United States.

Did you know Jean Krchmarek to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings with Jean Krchmarek. In fact Jean was the head of the Communist Party clubs of the Northeast Section in Cleveland, where I was treasurer.

Mr. NITTLE. You are referring to the Northeast Section of the Communist Party, of which you were treasurer?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Was she the leader of that section?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know her husband, Anthony Krchmarek, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do know Anthony Krchmarek as a member of the Communist Party. He is the State chairman of the Ohio Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Ann Magedowitz to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did. I knew Ann Magedowitz to be a member of the Communist Party since 1948 until the early 1950's. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with Ann Magedowitz at Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Did she become inactive in the early 1950's?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. She was also sent to, or went to, Chicago, I was told.

Mr. NITTLE. You lost count of her?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Not because of inactivity, but because she went elsewhere?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And you haven't heard from her since that time?

Mrs. BROWN. No, I haven't.

Mr. NITTLE. So you have no knowledge whether or not she continues to be active?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. You have mentioned Catherine McCastle. Did you know Catherine McCastle to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did. I knew Catherine McCastle to be a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland. I attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Catherine McCastle was present at Catherine McCastle's home, William Cooper's home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Regina Sokol as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did. I knew Regina Sokol as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with Regina Sokol at Frieda Katz' home, at Sylvia Strauss' home, and others, but in the early 1950's I lost track of Regina Sokol.

I knew she was in Cleveland, but I was not attending closed Communist Party meetings with her at that time.

Mr. NITTLE. Can you give any explanation why you did not attend closed Communist Party meetings with her after the early 1950's?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, the Communist Party had a section for members residing in the Southeast Section. Although I lived in the Southeast Section, I was not allowed as a member to attend the clubs in the Southeast Section, so I was required to attend meetings in the Northeast Section of the Communist Party. Regina Sokol lived in the section that I was forbidden to attend.

Mr. NITTLE. Now that is certainly a matter of interest. Just why were you forbidden to attend Communist Party meetings in the Southeast Section, which was the area in which you resided, and compelled to attend Communist Party meetings in the Northeast Section of Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, the only thing I can say is that it was a Jim Crow section.

Mr. NITTLE. What do you mean by that?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, they discriminated. The Communist Party discriminated in the Southeast Section and only white people were members, but there were colored and white, they were integrated, in the Northeast Section, so that made me go to the Northeast Section because they were discriminating in the Southeast Section.

Mr. NITTLE. This is an astounding assertion. The Communist Party claims that it does not practice or advocate segregation. But you say that in your case in the Cleveland area there was segregation practiced by the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. It certainly is and it has always been since I have been a Communist.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you make any complaints to the Communist Party with respect to this practice of segregation?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did. We had several meetings in the Northeast Section concerning the discrimination that the Southeast Section had, and in fact we had five or six different meetings and they were really up in the air about it. I also complained to Benjamin Davis of New York City. He was there in Cleveland at one time.

Mr. NITTLE. Benjamin Davis, to whom you refer, is the national secretary of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. You complained to Mr. Davis, national committeeman of the party, about this?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And Mr. Davis is ostensibly a Negro leader in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. What did he have to say about it?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, he did not like it and one day at one of the State Communist Party conferences, he spoke on discrimination and it still didn't do any good, though. They still didn't allow me in the Southeast Section.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, let me ask whether you knew Benjamin Davis at the time you wrote to him for assistance in this matter?

Mrs. BROWN. I had known Benjamin Davis for 40 years. He was born in my hometown, Atlanta, Georgia, and you might say that he was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. His mother and his father were wealthy people. His father owned a weekly newspaper, *Atlanta Independent*, there. His family had servants and cars; of course my family being very poor, but this didn't make any difference as long as you were decent in Atlanta, and we were friends of Benjamin Davis—two of my sisters.

Mr. NITTLE. You have known him rather intimately?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you offer an explanation or would you give us your opinion as to what might have induced Benjamin Davis to become a member of the Communist Party and to become active in its interests?

Mrs. BROWN. That is just about the hardest thing I could say. I really don't know how he could ever become induced into the Communist Party, unless he felt that he would have some power of some kind. I really don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. Let us proceed with the identification of other persons in attendance at the party of Frieda Katz in the Christmas holidays of 1947, at which time you were recruited into the Communist Party. Were Pearl and Sak Levin, whom you have mentioned as being in attendance, members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Pearl and Sak Levin were members of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with Pearl and Sak Levin at Frieda Katz' home, at Ruth Emmer's home, at Pearl Levin's home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. To your knowledge how long were Pearl and Sak Levin active in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until 1960, at which time I left Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Shirley Saferstein to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; I knew Shirley Saferstein to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with Shirley Saferstein and her husband, Sanford, at Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. You have mentioned Eugene Brudno as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; I knew Eugene Brudno as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Eugene Brudno was present in Frieda Katz' home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Foster and Mamie McCurdy as members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know Foster and Mamie McCurdy as members of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with Foster and Mamie McCurdy in Myrtle Dennis' home, in Margaret Wherry's home, and others, although I haven't attended any closed Communist Party meetings with Foster McCurdy since the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Eugene Bayer as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I knew Eugene Bayer as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Eugene Bayer was present in Eugene Bayer's home and in Ruth

Emmer's home, who is Eugene Bayer's sister. Eugene Bayer also gave Frieda Katz the permission to put me into the Communist Party or the Civil Rights Congress. In fact he came to my home and questioned me and gave her the permission to do so, if you would want to call it permission. I don't know.

Mr. NITTLE. You have mentioned Ruth Emmer. Did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I knew Ruth Emmer and Jack Emmer, her husband, as members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you give us a word about them?

Mrs. BROWN. Ruth Emmer is the sister of Eugene Bayer. At one time when I was attending closed Communist Party meetings she was living on the second floor and her parents and brother were living on the first.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you name some of the places at which you attended closed Communist meetings with Ruth and Jack Emmer?

Mrs. BROWN. At Ruth and Jack Emmer's home, in Frieda Katz' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Tell us just what were the exact circumstances under which you were recruited in the home of Frieda Katz—just how your membership in the Communist Party was evidenced at that party?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, when I signed Frieda Katz asked my husband for \$2. He gave her the \$2 and she gave me a card, and I took the card home and threw it on the table and the next morning I found that I was not only a member of the Civil Rights Congress; I was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. You thought you were signing an application or membership roll of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And later discovered that the card issued to you was a membership card in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. And I hid the card for some reason, because my conscience told me that I was doing wrong.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know anything about the Communist Party at that time which would cause your conscience to be troubled at all?

Mrs. BROWN. Really, I did not know anything about the Communist Party. Somehow I had not even read newspapers, and I had lived in Chicago most of my life, but I didn't know anything about the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. You had the impression there was something odd about it, however?

Mrs. BROWN. I just felt there was something odd about it and, if I might say this, I remembered later that I asked Frieda, "Wouldn't it be good if they could change the name?"

Mr. NITTLE. What did she say?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I don't remember what she said, but she gave me the brushoff, whatever it was.

Mr. NITTLE. The name has been changed in the past, but not recently.

Mrs. BROWN. Well, the word "Communist" to me seemed that it was the wrong thing. It wasn't right and I don't know why I had that idea.

Mr. NITTLE. After you were recruited into the Communist Party at the home of Frieda Katz, did you later receive instructions to engage in any particular activities? What was your first assignment?

Mrs. BROWN. My first assignment was to drive Frieda Katz and Sylvia Strauss to all the industrial plants and distribute the propaganda leaflets and the *Daily Worker*.

Mr. NITTLE. Where would you get copies of the *Daily Worker* for distribution at these industrial plants?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, Sylvia Strauss would have the copies when I picked her up there at her house.

Mr. NITTLE. In what way would you go about the distribution of the *Daily Worker* in the area?

Mrs. BROWN. We would go to the plants around lunchtime when most of the people would be coming out for lunch and give out the *Daily Worker* and distribute leaflets.

Mr. NITTLE. What type of leaflets did you also distribute with the *Daily Worker*?

Mrs. BROWN. Propaganda leaflets on what they sometimes call police brutality, and maybe some on lynching, or some propaganda that the Communist Party used to lure the people.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hear much about police brutality at or about the time you were recruited into the Communist Party, that is to say, did you hear it from these people whom you have identified as members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes, they played that up. They play up police brutality.

Mr. NITTLE. Can you be more specific? Who talked to you about police brutality while you were being recruited into the party?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, William Cooper, he talked to me concerning police brutality before I went into the Communist Party. I didn't know anything about police brutality, but not having been in Cleveland very long I thought this was something new.

Mr. NITTLE. What did he say about police brutality in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, he was trying to cite different cases that the Communist Party had brought before him and that this was a civil rights organization that fights police brutality, and I thought from the way he was talking that the policemen were just picking people out and shooting them and mistreating them for some reason I did not understand.

Mr. NITTLE. You thought this was a condition that existed in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Although you were unaware of it personally, you thought that it might exist, if Cooper told you that?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. I believed what he said.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever personally have any knowledge or observe any actual police brutality during the entire period you lived in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand you have also resided for many years in Atlanta and in other parts of the country. Did you personally ever observe any police brutality toward members of the Negro race?

Mrs. BROWN. I really and truly have not.

Mr. NITTLE. While you lived in Atlanta, did any actual police brutality ever come to your attention?

Mrs. BROWN. Not that I know of, only reading it in some of the papers.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have occasion to visit any offices that were either maintained or frequented by the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes. I worked in the Civil Rights Congress office in Cleveland several times, one of the offices at 5103 Euclid Avenue that housed the Progressive Party, and the Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; across the hall they had the Communist Party literature that they sold.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there a bookstore to which you are referring?

Mrs. BROWN. The bookstore of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they maintain any other Communist-front office at 5103 Euclid Avenue other than that of the Civil Rights Congress and the Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. BROWN. The Progressive Party was housed there, that is the political arm of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. How many rooms were maintained by these particular organizations at 5103 Euclid Avenue?

Mrs. BROWN. Two large rooms. One for the Protection of Foreign Born and the Civil Rights Congress, and one for the Progressive Party, and across the hall there was one room for the bookstore, so that was three rooms.

Mr. NITTLE. Who was the head of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. BROWN. Frieda Katz.

Mr. NITTLE. And who was the head of the Ohio branch of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born? Who maintained that office or who was in charge of it in Ohio?

Mrs. BROWN. Elsie Zazrivy.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Elsie Zazrivy to be a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I knew Elsie Zazrivy to be a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. NITTLE. And how long did you know her to be such?

Mrs. BROWN. From the early 1950's until I left Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Now who was in charge of the Progressive Party office?

Mrs. BROWN. Don Rothenberg.

Mr. NITTLE. And did you know Don Rothenberg to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I knew Don Rothenberg to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist meetings with Don Rothenberg in Don Rothenberg's home, Myrtle Dennis' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Who was in charge of the bookstore in the third room that you have mentioned?

Mrs. BROWN. Frida Kreitner.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Frida Kreitner to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know Frida Kreitner and her husband, Morris Kreitner, to be members of the Communist Party in Cleveland. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings with Morris and Frida Kreitner at Frieda Katz' home, Jean Krcmarek's home,

and others. Frida Kreitner was a member of a Communist Party club in the Northeast Section.

Mr. NITTLE. Frida Kreitner was a member of a Communist Party club in the Northeast Section, of which you were the treasurer?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the office of the Civil Rights Congress was in the hands of Frieda Katz, whom you have identified as a Communist in the area; the Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, occupying the same room, was in charge of Elsie Zazrivy, a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area; and the Progressive Party office was in charge of Don Rothenberg, a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this place ever identified to the public as the Communist Party headquarters?

Mrs. BROWN. No, never.

Mr. NITTLE. They persisted in using these masquerades? Did I understand you to say it was the same Communist Party group in the Cleveland area operating under these various disguises?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And it was the disguise of the Civil Rights Congress that deceived you into becoming a member of the Communist Party in the first instance?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. How long were these offices at 5103 Euclid Avenue in Cleveland maintained by these Communist-front organizations?

Mrs. BROWN. In the early 1950's they moved to 2014 East 105th Street in Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know what rooms they maintained there?

Mrs. BROWN. I think it was 202.

Mr. NITTLE. May I state for the record that we believe that office was closed just within the past month or so, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Very well.

Mr. NITTLE. Now you have mentioned the Progressive Party office maintained at 5103 Euclid Avenue. Were you involved in the political activities of that party and did the Communist Party support the Progressive Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes, every Communist is supposed—has to support all Communist-front organizations.

Mr. NITTLE. Did the Cleveland area Communist group engage in activity on behalf of Henry Wallace and Hugh DeLacy?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Including the Progressive Party campaign in which Henry Wallace was a candidate for the office of President and Hugh DeLacy was a candidate for State representative in Ohio?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. That saddens me quite a bit when I think of Henry Wallace as being duped by the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. You mean to say by that, of course, that Henry Wallace was not a member of the Communist Party nor was he a Communist?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, he was not.

Mr. NITTLE. That should be clear, I think, on the record. However, did you know Hugh DeLacy as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I knew Hugh DeLacy and his wife, Hester DeLacy, as being members of the Communist Party in Cleveland, Ohio. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Hugh DeLacy and Hester DeLacy attended.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you name some of those places?

Mrs. BROWN. In Myrtle Dennis' home, in Margaret Wherry's home, and Frieda Katz' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. During your first period in the Communist Party, commencing in or about December of 1947 when you were recruited into the party at the home of Frieda Katz, and continuing until you left the party about August 1948, just how did the Communists conduct their business with respect to your indoctrination and education as a Communist?

Mrs. BROWN. If I understand you correctly, about six of the Communists attended a small school in Sylvia Strauss' home where she taught us about the lynchings of the South. She was teaching us about the South. She was teaching us to hate our employer. You were not supposed to be friendly with your employer. Several times in leaving this meeting—this happened at least once a week in Sylvia Strauss' home—and in leaving I would talk to the people, the Communists, that I attended the school with and complained about Sylvia Strauss telling us about the South, when I knew that it wasn't so. I had never experienced the things that she was telling us happened in the South, and I was born in the South, and this school did not last very long. I began to complain so much about the things that she was saying, I feel that is why I didn't last long in the school.

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mrs. BROWN. Did I understand your question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. In part. I am also interested in determining whether you were instructed on other subjects. You have mentioned lynchings and hate your employer. Was there any other type of instruction given to you by Sylvia Strauss during that early period? What was her attitude toward the Government of the United States, or to our system of government here? Did she talk to you about that in any way?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, the Communist Party naturally is trying to destroy our country and our Government, and that is talked about in nearly every closed Communist Party meeting.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Sylvia Strauss have occasion to say anything specific upon that subject to you which you recall? You have stated that the Communist Party intends to destroy our Government. Was there anything in the lectures or discussions given to your small group by Sylvia Strauss that would confirm that conclusion?

Mrs. BROWN. I am very sure it is, but I just don't seem to be able to put it in the proper words.

Mr. NITTLE. Put it in the simplest words that come to you and as you recall them.

Mrs. BROWN. Would it be possible to come back to that? Maybe I will be able to recall that.

Mr. DOYLE. Perhaps the committee should stand in recess a couple of minutes. The reporter has signaled to me he would like a recess. The committee will stand in recess for a few minutes.
(A brief recess was taken.)

(At this point Mr. Scherer returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. DOYLE. Let the committee reconvene, please.

Are you ready, Counsel?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Are you ready, Witness?

The committee will come to order.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us the names of the persons with whom you first met for instruction at the home of Sylvia Strauss?

Mrs. BROWN. William Cooper; Roland Brown, who left Cleveland and went to California; Pauline Whitbeck, who later went to Akron in the early 1950's; Paul Moss, who severed his relationship with the Communist Party in the early 1950's; and sometimes Catherine McCastle.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us whether you have recollected in more detail the form which the indoctrination and instruction took at the home of Sylvia Strauss?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. Yes, I have. In talking to us, Sylvia Strauss was talking about the South and how they lynched people in the South and treated them so brutal, and William Cooper wanted to know what could be done to halt these kinds of things and Sylvia Strauss said the only way was by revolution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now you mentioned several meetings at the home of Frieda Katz. Was she very active in association with you during the first period you were in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Frieda took me in hand, as you might call it. I attended many closed Communist Party meetings with Frieda because I had to drive Frieda everywhere she went, and that was my chore, of chauffeuring Frieda, and in that manner I was able to go every place Frieda Katz went.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you go with Frieda Katz to other Communist Party meetings in the area or other club meetings?

Mrs. BROWN. I went with Frieda Katz all over the city of Cleveland, through the central area, through the Glenville area, the Shaker Heights area, and all. I have been with Frieda Katz several times at meetings at Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum's and at Yetta Land's home, and—

Mr. NITTLE. At what period did you say that you went with her to the home of Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum?

Mrs. BROWN. In the early 1950's after I began serving the FBI.

Mr. NITTLE. Now that you have mentioned the name of Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum, I think we ought to determine whether you can identify those persons as members of the Communist Party. Did you know Milton Tenenbaum to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum to be members of the Communist Party of Cleveland, Ohio. I have attended closed

Communist Party meetings with Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum in their home and Don Rothenberg's home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us the section of the Communist Party of which they were members?

Mrs. BROWN. The Southeast Section.

Mr. NITTLE. Over how long a period of time did you know Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum to be active in the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mr. BROWN. From the early 1950's until I left Cleveland in 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Yetta Land to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Yetta Land to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Yetta Land attended at Bertha Tenenbaum's home and Yetta Land's home.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Yetta Land's occupation?

Mrs. BROWN. She was a lawyer.

Mr. NITTLE. And over how long a period of time did you know her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I am sure from the early 1950's until she left Cleveland, for her health, I was told, to go to Arizona.

Mr. NITTLE. What caused you to reach the conclusion about August of 1948 to withdraw from the Communist Party in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, in the beginning of 1948 when I was attending closed Communist Party meetings and being taught things that Sylvia Strauss was teaching, I knew then that the Communist Party was a conspiracy and was trying to destroy my country. Later I attended a closed Communist Party meeting—the meeting was called by Frieda Katz—and they were talking about going underground. The Mundt-Nixon bill at that time was up before the Senate. Is it the Senate or the House?

Mr. NITTLE. It was before the Congress, and passed the House in May of 1948.

Mrs. BROWN. Well, anyway, Frieda said it had passed and that we had to raise thousands of dollars to go underground, and each person had to make a pledge of \$100. I didn't make the pledge and later Frieda backed me into one of the rooms and asked me why I didn't make the pledge of \$100, and I told her she would have to talk to my husband. The next day she came to our home and my husband refused her the \$100 because he told her he did not have it, and we talked it over and we thought that the best thing for me to do was get out of the Communist Party, and I did become pretty frightened. But I did not leave the Communist Party at that time, because the Communists are persistent. I worked. I helped to obtain 75,000 signatures for President for a man who was running for President of the United States on the Progressive Party ticket.

Mr. NITTLE. And who was that? Are you referring to Henry Wallace?

Mrs. BROWN. That's right, Henry Wallace. After I kept reading and going to meetings and being told how the Communist Party was forcing Henry Wallace to go through the back doors in segregated places, I became tired of the Communist Party, more tired of the Communist Party, and more convinced that they were trying to destroy

everything that I stood for. So I put another man's picture, which was Mr. Truman's picture—placard—on my house, and that made the Communist Party very sore, so Frieda Katz and Blanche Livingstone came to my home and told me that I could never be a Communist unless I allowed them to guide me. I told Frieda that I would rather stay home for awhile and she put the fear tactic on me. She tried to scare me into silence by telling me that I better not go to the FBI, and I told her that I had no thoughts of going to the FBI, that I wanted to stay home and think things over.

Mr. NITTLE. I might note that the Mundt-Nixon bill, which passed the House in May of 1948, was the precursor of the Internal Security Act of 1950. The Mundt-Nixon bill did not receive action in the Senate at that time.

Mr. Chairman, I ask that we be permitted to have this witness stand aside for a moment. I would like to interrogate William Cooper.

Mr. DOYLE. Very well. Will this witness stand aside a few minutes, please? We are going to call another witness at this time. Thank you for doing so. Just have a chair; we will be calling you in a few minutes.

Mr. DOYLE. Whom do you want, Mr. Nittle?

Mr. NITTLE. William Cooper.

Mr. COOPER. Will counsel give me a few minutes? I have to see my attorney.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, would you return to the stand while we are waiting for William Cooper to establish contact with his attorney. We shall ask you a few more questions in the interval.

You have indicated that you attended a closed Communist Party meeting with Don Rothenberg in the Southeast Section, to which you previously referred as being a segregated area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How do you account for the fact that you, as a Negro, attended a closed Communist Party meeting in a segregated area with Don Rothenberg?

Mr. SCHERER. I believe she said she was allowed to attend meetings, but that she wasn't allowed to join a club in the Southeast Section.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe you testified, that you had attended a closed Communist Party meeting with Don Rothenberg in the Southeast Section?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Now you also indicated that the Communist Party was practicing what you called Jim Crow, and that Negroes living in the Southeast Section were assigned to another section?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And in your case the Northeast Section?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Although you yourself lived in the Southeast Section?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. How can you account for your attendance as a Negro woman at a meeting in the Southeast Section with Don Rothenberg?

Mrs. BROWN. Where Don Rothenberg was present?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mrs. BROWN. Well, Frieda Katz attended, of course, and as I said before, my chore was to chauffeur Frieda Katz everywhere she went, so anywhere Frieda went like that, at a closed Communist meeting, or social affair, I always went with her.

Mr. NITTLE. You were her driver?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I was her driver.

Mrs. NITTLE. But you were not a member of the Southeast Section?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Although you lived there?

Mrs. BROWN. That's right.

Mr. SCHERER. You were allowed to attend because you were with Frieda Katz, but you weren't allowed to join a club in the Southeast Section?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Frieda Katz, I understand, attended meetings at several clubs. Is that your testimony?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. Frieda was all over Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you conclude from Frieda's activities that she was a Communist Party leader of some sort?

Mrs. BROWN. I am very sure she was, but what capacity I couldn't state.

Mr. NITTLE. And could you tell us why you don't know exactly what the capacity of Frieda Katz was?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, the Communist Party is very secretive. They don't let their right hand know what their left hand is doing, and it is very hard to find out just what office the members of the Communist Party hold.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the circumstances surrounding your reentry into the Communist Party as an agent for our Government?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I went to the Federal Bureau and reported my activities and the activities of the Communist Party, and not knowing that the Federal Bureau knew anything about them. I went home and later I was visited by an FBI agent and asked to go back into the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. In the discussion with the agent did he indicate to you what the conditions of your work were to be?

Mrs. BROWN. No, he did not. He just asked me to go back into the Communist Party and report to the FBI.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you offered any salary or compensation for this work?

Mrs. BROWN. Not one penny. That was never mentioned.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you expect any salary or did you ask for any?

Mrs. BROWN. No, I did not expect anything.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at any time receive a salary from the Federal Bureau of Investigation for your work in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Not a salary, no.

Mr. SCHERER. What did you receive in expenses?

Mrs. BROWN. I received expenses and sometimes for special work I would be given some sort of compensation. I think that was not to encourage me to continue, but to give me something to go on, because I so often, in going around for the Federal Bureau, had extra expenses

and upkeep, but it was no salary whatsoever that I received. I was never promised a salary at any time, and I never received anything that could be called salary.

Mr. NITTLE. What you did receive was to reimburse you for expenses and charges incurred as a result of your work in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. The witness, Mr. Cooper, is here now.

Mr. NITTLE. I would ask Mrs. Brown one more question.

As a result of that conversation did you make a decision to reenter the Communist Party on behalf of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. BROWN. I was asked by the agent to decide, not to give him the answer right away, but I told him that since the Korean war was on and the men were fighting and dying there, fighting for their country against the Communists, even myself, and the least I could do would try to be a soldier on this front and I accepted readily. I told him before he left the door that I was sure that I would help the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he ask you for an immediate decision?

Mrs. BROWN. No, he did not, but I insisted that I would help him and that he could depend on that.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, you may stand aside for a moment.

Mr. DOYLE. Is William Cooper here?

Mr. NITTLE. I understand he has just returned but his attorney is not here and has notified us he is on the way.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Cooper, will you step forward, so we have the record show the facts?

Mr. COOPER. I have to wait on counsel.

Mr. DOYLE. We are not going to ask you any questions except where your attorney is. We never ask a witness any questions without his counsel present, but we want to know when he is going to be here. Who is your attorney?

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Kahn.

Mr. DOYLE. You have been in the hearing room here in the last hour. I have seen you.

Mr. COOPER. Yes, I was here.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he due here at a certain time with you?

Mr. COOPER. He is coming back.

Mr. DOYLE. He was in the room, wasn't he?

Mr. COOPER. Yes, but he told me to call him.

Mr. DOYLE. He only left about 15 or 20 minutes ago, didn't he?

Mr. COOPER. He hasn't been too long: no, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. We are going to recess. It is 12 o'clock now.

Thank you, Mr. Cooper. You make sure you contact your attorney and make sure he is here.

Mr. COOPER. Oh, yes, I will.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will stand in recess until 1:30. The witnesses are instructed to return at 1:30 this afternoon to this hearing room.

(Thereupon, at 11:55 a.m., Monday, June 4, 1962, the hearing recessed, to reconvene at 1:30 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—MONDAY, JUNE 4, 1962

The committee reconvened at 1:50 p.m., Hon. Francis E. Walter, chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Tuck, Scherer, Johansen, and Bruce.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

The Chair appoints a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Scherer, Mr. Johansen, Mr. Bruce, Mr. Doyle, and myself.

Mr. NITTLE. William Cooper, please come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you swear that the testimony you give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mr. COOPER. I do.

TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM HENRY COOPER, ACCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your full name, please?

Mr. COOPER. William Henry Cooper.

Mr. NITTLE. Where do you live?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your street address?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer the question, Mr. Cooper.

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

The CHAIRMAN. I have directed you to answer the question as to your address.

Mr. COOPER. I am forced not to tell you that, because I might incriminate myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You feel that it might incriminate you, subject you to criminal prosecution, if you told this committee where you live?

Mr. COOPER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were served with a subpoena to be here?

Mr. COOPER. Yes, I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you served?

Mr. COOPER. In Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. Where in Cleveland?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. At my home.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. COOPER. At my home in Cleveland.

The CHAIRMAN. 3192 East 123d Street, Cleveland? Is that where you were served?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer, on the grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. On what grounds?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I can't be forced to be a witness against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. I see, Mr. Cooper, that you are represented by counsel.

Will counsel identify himself for the record, please?

Mr. SPEISER. I am Lawrence Speiser, an attorney with offices at the American Civil Liberties Union, 1101 Vermont Avenue, NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speiser, are you representing this witness, or the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. SPEISER. I am representing the witness, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. You have no offices, you say, other than the American Civil Liberties Union?

Mr. SPEISER. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Cooper, do you not in fact reside at 3192 East 123d Street?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Cooper, are you now a member of the Communist Party?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I haven't been a member of it for the last 10 years.

Mr. SCHERER. You were a member before that, were you not?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. You indicated until you got to Washington that you were going to tell what you knew about Communist Party activities, did you not?

Mr. COOPER. No.

Mr. SCHERER. You did not tell our investigator that you would cooperate with the committee? And testify?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

The CHAIRMAN. Let the witness answer the question.

Mr. COOPER. I don't know whether I did or not.

Mr. SCHERER. You do not deny that you did?

Mr. COOPER. I don't remember.

Mr. SCHERER. You said that you did not need a lawyer. Did you not tell the member of our staff that you did not need a lawyer?

Mr. COOPER. He told me I didn't need a lawyer. I didn't know what I needed.

Mr. SCHERER. Did he not ask you who your lawyer was? And you said you did not have a lawyer. You did not have a lawyer last week, when the member of our staff talked to you, did you?

Mr. COOPER. I didn't talk to him about no lawyer.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, when did you get a lawyer?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. What is the pertinency of the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Because we are curious to know why you have changed your position, and whether you were advised not to cooperate with this committee after you had told one of our investigators, according to our information, that you would cooperate.

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I made up my mind to do the only thing I thought was in my rights, to protect myself.

Mr. SCHERER. When did you make up your mind to do what you say you are doing now?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the record note that counsel conferred with the witness prior to responding to this and the prior question.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think that makes any difference. It is perfectly apparent what is happening here. This man is not answering questions.

Mr. SCHERER. His lawyer is answering them for him.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Did any member of the Communist Party contact you, confer and consult with you, and advise you not to testify before this committee?

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer, on the grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Did any person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party advise you to come here and plead the fifth amendment to every question asked of you?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, your address at 3192 East 123d Street was next door to the address of Julia Brown, in 1947 and for some time thereafter; is that correct?

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer, on the same grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you a photograph which has been marked as "Brown Exhibit No. 1." It is a photograph of a man, which appears in the upper left-hand corner of page 28 in the *National Republic*, September 1948 issue. That photograph was previously identified by Mrs. Julia Brown as the photograph of Joe Hill, who is identified below that photograph as a person bearing the name Lou Kaplan.¹ Can you identify the person whose picture appears in that publication?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. You have stated that you are not now a member of the Communist Party, and have not been a member of the Communist Party for 10 years past. Mrs. Julia Brown testified that you had ceased being active in the Communist Party, to her knowledge, at about that time. Will you tell us whether or not you, in fact, withdrew from the Communist Party about the year 1953?

(Counsel conferred with witness.)

Mr. COOPER. I refuse to answer, on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nittle, it is perfectly apparent that someone has talked to this witness between the time that he told our investigator what he did, and the present. It seems to me that this is the sort of thing that ought to be referred to the Department of Justice. If anyone is interfering with our witnesses, there ought to be something done about it. You are excused.

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, will you resume the witness stand, please?

¹ See footnote on p. 995.

TESTIMONY OF JULIA C. BROWN—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, you have seen the witness who was just excused?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know the gentleman who appeared on the witness stand and testified?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I knew him.

Mr. NITTLE. Who was he?

Mr. BROWN. William Cooper, my next-door neighbor.

Mr. NITTLE. We shall return to your testimony, at the point where you had agreed to reenter the Communist Party at the request of the FBI. Will you tell us how you accomplished the renewed association with the party?

Mr. SCHERER. Before you ask that question, I think the record should be completed on an earlier point.

This morning you identified William Cooper as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And this is the same William Cooper?

Mrs. BROWN. This is the same William Cooper that sat here.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us how you accomplished your renewed association with the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. On Monday morning—after the FBI left my home on Saturday—on Monday morning, I called Frieda Katz, and she asked me to come over, and I went to her home and told her that I had been lonesome and wanted to get in the fight again with the party.

She asked me to go with her to the Ohio Bill of Rights Conference office. There we sent out a large mailing from 5103 Euclid Avenue.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Frieda Katz accept you into a friendly relationship, and did you resume your activities with her thereafter?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. You indicated that, during your first period in the Communist Party, activities were quite open. You met with Communist Party groups and at various places, and you received instruction at the home of Sylvia Strauss.

Did the party continue operating in the same way on your reentry? Or did the passage of the Mundt-Nixon bill by the House in May 1948 affect the party's organizational practices?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, there was a meeting at my house in the early 1950's, and Frieda had told us that we could not meet in large groups any more; that not more than three or four could have meetings at a time.

Mr. NITTLE. Previously, how many met in groups?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, as many as would attend, maybe six, maybe seven, as many as would attend.

Mr. NITTLE. How were members of the party identified to each other? Were they referred to as comrades?

Mrs. BROWN. They were referred to as comrades, although now, in the 1960's, before I left, they were addressing themselves as brothers and sisters.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you attribute the changed method of salutation, in the period of the 1960's, to the fact that the Internal Security Act of 1950 was then before the Supreme Court of the United States?

Mrs. BROWN. No doubt.

Mr. NITTLE. It appears that the Communist Party has made a special effort to interest the Negro in the Communist movement and in furtherance of its objectives. I believe that you have had intimate experience with certain fronts which were apparently established by the Communist Party for this express purpose. Did you have any experience with organizations that were established with a view to interesting and involving the Negro people in the Communist movement?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How many organizations of that particular type did you have experience with?

Mrs. BROWN. At least two.

Mr. NITTLE. And what were they?

Mrs. BROWN. One was the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, and the other one was the Negro Labor Council.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us first about the organization of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, which our information indicates was founded or created in September 1951? How did this matter come to your attention?

Mrs. BROWN. I was called over the phone one day by Elsie Zazrivy and told that there would be an organizing of Negro women in New York City in a month or so. I have forgotten just the date that Elsie called me and wanted to know if I would be one of the women to go along and help to organize.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there a meeting in Cleveland in order to determine what representatives would go to this meeting? Did you say in New York?

Mrs. BROWN. No. I misstated it. It was in Washington, D.C., here.

Mr. NITTLE. What was that meeting in Washington to be?

Mrs. BROWN. An organization meeting of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this the founding convention of the national organization, Sojourners for Truth and Justice?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; it was.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you selected as a delegate from the Cleveland area to the national convention?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; as one of the delegates.

Mr. NITTLE. How did you receive your appointment as a delegate to the national convention?

Mrs. BROWN. We had a meeting at Myrtle Dennis' home, and somehow all of the delegates, the ones that were delegates, that Elsie Zazrivy had selected as delegates, were present at this meeting.

Mr. NITTLE. Elsie Zazrivy, whom you have identified as a member of the Communist Party and in charge of the front called Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, notified you to appear at the home of Myrtle Dennis?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. When you got to the home of Myrtle Dennis, who was there?

Mrs. BROWN. Margaret Wherry, Sarah Roberts, Elsie Zazrivy, and myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Pauline Taylor in attendance?

Mrs. BROWN. No, she was not in attendance. Pauline at that time was living in Youngstown, Ohio.

Mr. NITTLE. You have already identified Margaret Wherry as a member of the Communist Party. You have identified Myrtle Dennis as a member of the Communist Party. You have now mentioned Sarah Roberts for the first time. Was Sarah Roberts known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, she was.

Mr. NITTLE. How do you identify her as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I did not know Sarah was a member of the Communist Party, until we came to Washington, here. We roomed together, Sarah and I, in one room, and Margaret Wherry and Myrtle Dennis in the other room. And the next morning Sarah Roberts told me that she had been a Communist for many years. And that is how I knew Sarah Roberts was a Communist.¹

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at any subsequent occasion meet with her in closed Communist Party meetings?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Sarah Roberts later marry?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. To James McMillan.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know James McMillan as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with James McMillan; not very often.

Mr. NITTLE. In what section did Sarah Roberts, now McMillan, and James McMillan, reside at that time?

Mrs. BROWN. They resided in the Glenville area that would have been the Northeast Section if she had attended the Communist Party clubs; but she did not attend.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you in fact attend the national convention of the Sojourn for Truth and Justice at Washington?

Mrs. BROWN. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. How did you travel here?

Mrs. BROWN. I traveled by plane with Myrtle Dennis and Sarah Roberts.

Mr. NITTLE. Who paid the expenses of your plane passage?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I paid most of it, and the Communist Party paid part of it.

Mr. NITTLE. When you arrived at Washington, did you find other persons from the Cleveland area Communist Party in attendance?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; I did.

Mr. NITTLE. And who were they?

Mrs. BROWN. The next day Pauline Taylor came to Washington here and roomed with Margaret Wherry and Myrtle Dennis.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Pauline Taylor to be a member of the Communist Party?

¹ Sarah Roberts McMillan, having been identified as a member of the Communist Party in the earlier executive testimony of Julia Brown, was subpoenaed as a witness for these hearings. At her request and as a matter of convenience to her, the committee agreed to hear Sarah Roberts McMillan in executive session, at which time she denied ever having been a Communist Party member. Julia Brown was aware of this denial at the time of the testimony above set forth. The contradiction in testimony of these two witnesses has been referred to the Department of Justice for appropriate action.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; I did.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known her to be active in it?

Mrs. BROWN. I have known Pauline Taylor to be active in the Communist Party since 1948.

Mr. NITTLE. Until when?

Mrs. BROWN. Until the middle 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet in closed Communist Party meetings with Pauline Taylor?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect where?

Mrs. BROWN. At Margaret Wherry's home and in Myrtle Dennis' home, Frieda Katz' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Margaret Wherry married?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, to Robert Wherry.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. I knew Robert Wherry as a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland. I attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Robert Wherry attended in Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Were there any other members from the Cleveland area in attendance at the Washington, D.C., national convention of this organization?

Mrs. BROWN. No, I don't think so.

Mr. NITTLE. It is quite clear from what you have said that the Cleveland delegation to the national convention of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice was Communist controlled. The entire delegation you have identified as members of the Communist Party; and you have pointed out that those in attendance received their appointment from Elsie Zazrivy?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. You have identified Elsie Zazrivy as active in the Communist Party and in charge of one of the offices of its front organizations?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you two exhibits to be identified as Brown Exhibits Nos. 2 and 2-A, respectively. The first is a letter dated September 17, 1951, the letterhead being entitled "Initiating Committee of the Sojourn for Truth and Justice to Washington," bearing address "Harriet Tubman Center, 290 Lenox Avenue, New York, N.Y.," with a telephone number LE. 4-9061, indicated thereon, and signed "Beulah Richardson, Acting Secretary."

Did you know Beulah Richardson to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know Beulah Richardson to be a member of the Communist Party. I attended closed Communist Party meetings with Beulah Richardson in New York City at Louise Patterson's home.

Mr. NITTLE. Is the Louise Patterson, the person you mention, the wife of William Patterson?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, William Patterson.

Mr. NITTLE. The latter being a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. This letter, Exhibit No. 2, is addressed to "Dear Sisters," and states that there is enclosed therewith THE CALL TO NEGRO WOMEN, which was adopted by 200 women in a meeting in New York City on September 16, 1951.

Exhibit No. 2-A is entitled "A Call To Negro Women," which sets forth the purpose of the founding convention.

With the permission of the Chair, I shall read several extracts from this Call:

The time has come for us Negro women of these United States to personally address this government for absolute, immediate and unconditional redress of grievances.

* * * * *

We die of poverty, loneliness, drudgery and disease. We have watched our husbands and fathers burned, quartered, hanged and electrocuted by hooded and unhooded mobs. We have seen our brothers beaten, shot and stamped to death by police. And when our greatest fighter for civil rights dares to challenge the injustice he is cursed, reviled and indicted by the highest legislative body in the land.

We have seen our sons rotting in prison, we've seen them poured into foreign wars in defense of this government which denies them equality on the battle field and at home. And when the greatest mind we have produced dares speak out for peace, he is handcuffed and indicted as a foreign agent.

We have seen our daughters raped and degraded, and when one dares rise in defense of her honor she is jailed for life.

There is no state in the whole of the forty-eight in which we can eat, live, work, play, rest, or breathe free of segregation and discrimination, and when the greatest voice we have produced dares sing out against these indignities, his passport is recalled and he is denied the property right to earn a living.

Do you recognize these exhibits, and can you identify them?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do.

(Documents marked "Brown Exhibits Nos. 2 and 2-A" follow:)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CLEVELAND, OHIO, AREA 1021

BROWN EXHIBIT No. 2

INITIATING COMMITTEE OF THE SOJOURN FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE TO WASHINGTON

Harriet Tubman Center
290 Lenox Avenue
New York, N.Y.
Le 4 -9061

September 17, 1951

Dear Sisters:

We are enclosing THE CALL TO NEGRO WOMEN which was enthusiastically and unanimously adopted by 200 women meeting in New York City on September 16, 1951. Your reading of it will fully acquaint you with its purpose.

We are counting on you to rally the Negro women of your city and state to join us as SOJOURNERS FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE in Washington on September 29 through October 1. We also hope you will rally all women to support the Sojourn by helping to finance the trip of the Sojourners and to take care of the children of mothers who want to come.

Our aim is One Hundred Negro Women to Washington, representing every section of the country, North, South, East and West. Let us know by wire as soon as you can how many to expect from your city and State. Housing and other arrangements must be made by our Washington Committee and they need as much advance notice as possible.

We are fully aware how short the time is in which we have to do this job. But events won't wait for us to get ready--we've just got to catch up with them.

So on to Washington, Sojourners, September 29. Send in your registrations on the enclosed forms. This will be but the beginning of our effort to see that every man, woman and child of us can walk this land in dignity and freedom.

Yours in sisterhood,

Beulah Richardson
Acting Secretary

NOTE

There will be an organizational meeting for the SOJOURN FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE to Washington, on MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 8:00 P.M., at the Harriet Tubman Center, 290 Lenox Avenue.

All Negro women interested in registering as Sojourners, as well as women interested in helping to send others, or to contribute to the success of the Sojourn are welcome.

BROWN EXHIBIT No. 2-A

*"I am going to keep on stinging 'till
I arouse the conscience of America."*

.... Harriet Tubman

**A
CALL
TO
NEGRO
WOMEN**

*"The name has come. Sojourner, that's it. Because I am going to travel up
and down the country showing the people their sins and being a sign unto
them."*

.... Sojourner Truth

A Call To Negro Women

THE time has come for us Negro women of these United States to personally address this government for absolute, immediate and unconditional redress of grievances.

We cannot, must not, and will no longer in sight of God or man sit by and watch our lives destroyed by an unreasonable and unreasoning hate that metes out to us every kind of death it is possible for a human being to die.

We die of poverty, loneliness, drudgery and disease. We have watched our husbands and fathers burned, quartered, hanged and electrocuted by hooded and unhooded mobs. We have seen our brothers beaten, shot and stamped to death by police. And when our greatest fighter for civil rights dares to challenge the injustice he is cursed, reviled and indicted by the highest legislative body in the land.

We have seen our sons rotting in prison, we've seen them poured into foreign wars in defense of this government which denies them equality on the battlefield and at home. And when the greatest mind we have produced dares speak out for peace, he is handcuffed and indicted as a foreign agent.

We have seen our daughters raped and degraded, and when one dares rise in defense of her honor she is jailed for life.

There is no state in the whole of the forty-eight in which we can eat, live, work, play, rest, or breathe free of segregation and discrimination, and when the greatest voice we have produced dares sing out against these indignities, his passport is recalled and he is denied the property right to earn a living.

We claim that this government cannot honestly, convincingly and sincerely spend billions, send troops and draft treaties for the peace and freedom of other nations while it never has and does not now protect the lives and liberties of 15,000,000 of its own Negro citizens. Only when our government abolishes the lynch justice of Mississippi, when it publicly declares there shall be no more Ciceros or Peekskills, only when it moves to enforce with its might the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution, then and only then can it speak as a free nation for a free world. And to this end, we, the Negro Women of this our land, must and now dedicate our every effort.

We, therefore, issue this call. Negro Women of the United States of America, dry your tears, and in the spirit of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth, **ARISE**. Arise, come to Washington and **speak your mind**. Come, you widows of the legally lynched. Come, you wives of those imprisoned and threatened with prison. Come, you widowed by police brutality. Come, you who mourn yours sons dead in foreign wars. Come, you homeless and jobless. Come, all of us who are insulted, humiliated and betrayed by a government that practices these indignities upon us and peddles freedom abroad.

NEGRO WOMEN OF EVERY CITY, TOWN AND STATE
ARISE, come to Washington, D.C., September 29 through October 1 and demand of the President, the Justice Department, the State Department, and the Congress absolute, immediate, and unconditional redress of grievances.

DEAR NEGRO SISTERS EVERYWHERE IN THE UNITED STATES:

WE, the initiators of this Call, invite Negro Women everywhere in our country to join us in this **SOJOURN FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE** in Washington, D.C., September 29 through October 1, 1951.

Ask your church, lodge, trade union, civic or community organization, your family or friends, to send you as their spokesman. But come, even if you must send yourself. We know it will mean a sacrifice, but that has been our life, a long one of sacrifice, and we can well afford to make this one if we can help end our pain and our misery.

In Washington we will come together to plan the full program of the **SOJOURN FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE**, elect our committees, and visit the President, the State and Justice Departments, the Senators and Congressmen, to demand action NOW on our grievances.

So come, as many of you as can, and those who cannot, can help send others. Our action will carry forward the tradition of Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth and will give inspiration and courage to women the world over, especially the colored women of Africa and Asia who expect us to make this challenge.

THE INITIATING COMMITTEE OF THE SOJOURN FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE TO WASHINGTON

Charlotta Bass California	Sonora B. Lawson Virginia	Beulah Richardson Mississippi
Alice Childress New York	Amy Mallard Georgia	Eulanda Robeson Connecticut
Shirley Graham New York	Rosalie McGee Mississippi	Pauline Taylor Ohio
Josephine Grayson Virginia	Bessie Mitchell New Jersey	Frances Williams California
Dorothy Hunton New York	Louise Patterson New York	

INFORMATION FOR THE SOJOURNERS:

- 1) Sojourners should plan to reach Washington, D.C., by 1 P.M. Saturday, September 29, 1951. Report immediately to the headquarters of the Cafeteria Workers, 1015 M. St., N. W., where you will be given housing information and participate on committees to shape the full program for the Sojourn in Washington.
- 2) For further information and to register for the **SOJOURN FOR TRUTH AND JUSTICE** address communications to:

Beulah Richardson, Acting Secretary for the
Initiating Committee
Harriet Tubman Center
290 Lenox Avenue
New York, N. Y.



Mr. NITTLE. Now, the Call further carries upon it the names of those persons constituting the Initiating Committee of the Sojourn for Truth and Justice to Washington. We should like to determine the Communist affiliation, if any, of the 14 named women who constitute the evident leadership of the national organization.

We realize that the persons named are from various areas of the country, most of whom appear not to be of the Cleveland area. Their addresses are given after their names.

I ask you to examine the names on that exhibit which appear as members of the Initiating Committee and tell us which of those persons, if any, are known to you to be members of the Communist Party.

In making your identification, I am going to ask you to confine yourself, as hitherto, to those persons with whom you have been in attendance at closed Communist Party meetings, or who, by their own admission, are members of the Communist Party.

(At this point Mr. Walter left the hearing room.)

Mrs. BROWN. Sonora B. Lawson, Virginia.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Sonora B. Lawson, who is listed as a delegate from the State of Virginia, to be a member of the Communist Party? And if so, will you tell us how you make that identification?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Sonora B. Lawson to be a member of the Communist Party.

I was called by Frieda Katz one day to her home, and there Anthony Krchmarek asked me if I could house Sonora B. Lawson for 2 weeks.

Mr. NITTLE. Anthony Krchmarek you identify as the Communist Party chairman for the District of Ohio?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Krchmarek appeared before this committee last year, did he not?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. At that time he took the fifth amendment when asked concerning his official position with the Communist Party in Ohio. Is that correct, Counsel?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

I might also state that our records and information indicate that Anthony Krchmarek was also a delegate to the National Convention of the Communist Party, held in New York City, in December of 1959, and attended that convention as a delegate from the Ohio District of the Communist Party.

Mr. SCHERER. While we have interrupted this witness, let me ask this witness further concerning William Cooper.

You said you left Ohio in 1960?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Cooper a neighbor of yours at that time?

Mrs. BROWN. Not at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. When did he cease to be a neighbor of yours?

Mrs. BROWN. Around 1955 or 1956. I moved from that neighborhood to Edgewood Avenue, but he remained at the same place.

Mr. SCHERER. Was he at the address that was read into the record just a little while ago?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that Cooper had agreed to testify when he talked to our investigator about his activities in the Communist Party; and then, when the names were published in the Cleveland paper, the names of the witnesses who were subpoenaed, it enabled someone from the Communist Party to contact Cooper. They found out that he had been subpoenaed, and then his mind was changed about his intentions.

Mr. NITTLE. I might also add, Mr. Scherer, that the witness Cooper had told our investigator, Mr. Wettermann, that Frieda Katz had been to see him.

Mr. SCHERER. That was at the time he left the party, about 10 years ago?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. But what I am saying is that just recently he talked to Mr. Wettermann, and indicated, or not only indicated but said, that he would come before this committee and tell this committee about his associations in the party and what he knew about Communist Party activities in the Cleveland area. And that has just been recently. It was subsequent to his conversation with Mr. Wettermann that his name appeared, along with others, as a witness who had been subpoenaed before this committee today, and it is apparent to me what happened.

He does not come here with a Cleveland lawyer. He comes here with a Washington lawyer from the American Civil Liberties Union. Instead of keeping his promise or fulfilling his intentions, he refuses to testify; and it is apparent that after his name was published, somebody from the Communist apparatus got in touch with him and changed his mind.

Mr. DOYLE (presiding). Well, that would be according to custom, would it not?

Mr. SCHERER. Oh, yes, that is a tactic.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. NITTLE. Would you continue with the visit of Sonora Lawson to your home at the instance of Anthony Krchmarek?

Mrs. BROWN. Sonora came to my home. I wrote Sonora and sent her my address. I was told to do that by Krchmarek. And she came to my home one Sunday night as a delegate to the NAACP convention.

Mr. NITTLE. That is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. She lived in my home for 2 weeks, and attended the sessions of the NAACP. She told me that she had been a Communist for years, and that she had done a very good job in Virginia.

Mr. NITTLE. And did she discuss with you the purpose of her attendance as a Communist Party member at a convention of the NAACP, which is not regarded as a Communist organization?

Mrs. BROWN. She had infiltrated the NAACP—Sonora Lawson. During the convention, she would bring me literature, and when the resolution of the NAACP was out, in their resolution they denounced the Communist Party and said that they didn't want members of the Communist Party as members of the NAACP, and Sonora Lawson brought me the resolution, and had quite a bit to say about it.

And later she had a meeting, she told me—I didn't go to the meeting—with some of the comrades who were up in the air over this resolution that the NAACP had made.

Mr. NITTLE. The NAACP adopted a resolution at the Cleveland convention condemning communism and declaring that they did not want Communists as members of the NAACP?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any discussions with Sonora B. Lawson with respect to what the Communist Party was going to try to do about this, if anything?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, they didn't like it, and I am sure that at the time Sonora was at the meeting, James Jackson of New York City was also in attendance, as a delegate, and he is also a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Which James Jackson are you referring to?

Mrs. BROWN. The one that lives in New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. The editor of *The Worker*.

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. So that you are telling us that James Jackson, a national committeeman of the Communist Party, and Anthony Krchmarek, the chairman of the Ohio District of the Communist Party, were interested in this resolution adopted by the NAACP?

Mrs. BROWN. You said Anthony Krchmarek? I didn't talk to Anthony Krchmarek about the resolution. I talked to Sonora Lawson.

Mr. NITTLE. I see.

Mrs. BROWN. About the resolution. She was the one that brought the resolution to me.

Mr. NITTLE. But it was Anthony Krchmarek who arranged for her attendance at your home?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at that time a member of the NAACP?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. How did it happen that you, a member of the Communist Party, were joining an organization such as the NAACP?

Mrs. BROWN. I had also been asked, or told, rather, to infiltrate the NAACP, and I had been successful in joining the junior women's auxiliary there.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you told to join the NAACP on instructions from any member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, by one of the organizers from Chicago, by the name of Hugh Statten.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Hugh Statten as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I knew Hugh Statten as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings with Hugh Statten at Hugh Statten's home, at Jean Krchmarek's home, at Mel Hardin's home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. You have indicated you attended a meeting at the home of Mel Hardin?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. That is H-a-r-d-i-n?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I knew Mel Hardin and his wife, Virginia, to be members of the Communist Party. They were members of a Communist Party club in the Northeast Section.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us what instructions Hugh Statten gave you with respect to infiltrating the NAACP?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, Hugh came to my home and asked me to join the NAACP, to infiltrate the NAACP; and said that they had not been successful in getting the women in; that they had one person, and they did not think she was doing a very good job. And that person was Frida Kreitner. He also said that Margaret Wherry had infiltrated NAACP at one time, and had not done a good job, and he thought I could. He asked me to go in and report on the activities and policies of the NAACP, and report to the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. We will return to your examination of the Call. You mentioned Sonora B. Lawson, and you have identified her as a member of the Communist Party. Can you identify as Communists any other persons listed on the Initiating Committee of the Sojourn for Truth and Justice?

Mrs. BROWN. Beulah Richardson.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you already identified Beulah Richardson as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. She was listed on the Call as representing the State of Mississippi?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Proceed.

Mrs. BROWN. Pauline Taylor, Ohio.

Mr. NITTLE. You have already identified Pauline Taylor of Ohio as a member of the Communist Party.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Louise Patterson, New York.

Mr. NITTLE. You identify her as a member of the Communist Party and the wife of William Patterson, national committeeman of the Communist Party.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How many days did you remain in attendance at the convention in Washington, D.C.?

Mrs. BROWN. It was 2 or 3 days. I don't remember exactly, but it was 2 or 3 days.

Mr. NITTLE. The delegates to the convention appeared to have represented various areas about the country. Were you given advice at the national convention with respect to establishing branch or local organizations in your communities on return?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, we were.

Mr. NITTLE. What were those instructions?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, we were to go back to Cleveland and recruit all the Negro women that we possibly could, Communist and non-Communist, into this organization.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you in fact organize a Cleveland branch of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Who gave you instructions for its organization?

Mrs. BROWN. Elsie Zazrivy.

Mr. NITTLE. Whom you have already identified.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were these instructions received?

Mrs. BROWN. Myrtle Dennis' home.

Mr. NITTLE. I am referring to the original organization of the Cleveland branch after your return from Washington. Did you meet first with Elsie Zazrivy, as you have indicated?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did that meeting take place?

Mrs. BROWN. At Myrtle Dennis' home.

Mr. NITTLE. What persons were in attendance at the organizing meeting at the home of Myrtle Dennis?

Mrs. BROWN. At that time, it was Sarah Roberts, Margaret Wherry, Mamie McCurdy, and a Sadie Raffick, and Elsie Zazrivy, of course.

Mr. NITTLE. You have already identified all those persons you have just named as members of the Communist Party, with the exception of Sadie Raffick. What is the spelling?

Mrs. BROWN. R-a-f-f-i-c-k.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Sadie Raffick as a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mrs. BROWN. I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you later or at any time ascertain whether she was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. No. No, I never did find that out.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us of the other meetings that took place if any, and how the officers of this organization were appointed?

Mrs. BROWN. At that first meeting, the officers were appointed.

Mr. NITTLE. Who were appointed as officers?

Mrs. BROWN. Sarah Roberts was appointed as chairman; Myrtle Dennis, secretary; and Julia Brown, treasurer.

Mr. NITTLE. You are referring to yourself?

Mrs. BROWN. Myself.

Mr. NITTLE. So then the officials of this organization are all identified at that time as members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How did this appointment of officers of the organization take place? Who made the appointments?

Mrs. BROWN. Elsie Zazrivy.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us what tasks this particular organization was given to perform? What did you do as treasurer of the organization? What activities did your group engage in?

The newspaper accounts or other accounts indicate that this organization had representation at the time of the Moore murder and visited the Governor of Florida.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did your organization undertake that task?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. That is right. I was sent from Cleveland to Florida to represent the Ohio group.

Mr. NITTLE. Who gave you the instructions to go to Florida to represent Ohio?

Mrs. BROWN. Elsie Zazrivy.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you in fact meet with a group in Florida?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I did get lost from the group that I was to meet from New York City, and I finally located them at the Governor's mansion having lunch.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you identify any of the other members of the group? Did you know them prior to this meeting with them at the Governor's mansion?

Mrs. BROWN. I didn't know all of them, but I did know Angie Dickerson, from New York.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us about Angie Dickerson?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Angie Dickerson to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with Angie Dickerson in Cleveland at Margaret Wherry's home, Myrtle Dennis' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Was she at one time a resident of Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. No. She lived in New York, but she had visited Cleveland. Angie Dickerson used to go around speaking on behalf of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice. Also, I have been to closed Communist Party meetings with Angie Dickerson in New York City. Where the place was, I am sorry I cannot tell you, because I didn't know New York City. There is very little I know about New York City and I don't know the people's name nor the address.

Mr. NITTLE. On your return to Cleveland from the meeting with the Governor of Florida, how was the Florida incident utilized for the purposes of the Communist Party? Did you hold a meeting or an affair?

Mrs. BROWN. In Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. NITTLE. On your return?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And where was this affair held?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, they had several affairs, but one affair I think was held at the Hungarian Hall on Buckeye Road.

Mr. NITTLE. You spoke at this affair, did you not?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I at least tried, anyway.

Mr. NITTLE. Who were the speakers at this affair at Hungarian Hall?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, those I can remember now were Angie Dickerson, Myrtle Dennis, Sarah Roberts, Beulah Richardson, and myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Our records indicate that this affair was called a Civil Rights Assembly, conducted on January 19 and 20, 1952, sponsored by a Communist group operating under the disguise of Ohio Bill of Rights Conference and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Is that correct?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Our information indicates that among the persons in attendance were Jimmy Lee Caldwell and Fred O'Neal. Did you know Jimmy Lee Caldwell?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Mrs. Jimmy Lee Caldwell as a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland. I have attended closed Com-

munist Party meetings where she attended at Hester DeLacy's home and Jimmy Lee Caldwell's home.

Mr. NITTLE. Over how long a period of time did you know Jimmy Lee Caldwell to be active in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. From the early 1950's to the middle 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know what happened after that?

Mrs. BROWN. I lost contact.

Mr. NITTLE. Fred O'Neal?

Mrs. BROWN. Fred O'Neal I know as a member of the Communist Party. He and his wife—I think her name is Laura O'Neal—are members of a Communist Party club in the Northeast Section.

Mr. NITTLE. That was the section of which you were treasurer.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. It is the committee's information that a petition, which we identify as Brown Exhibit No. 3, was circulated at the Civil Rights Assembly, the affair to which we just referred. This petition was circulated under the banner of the Progressive Party of Ohio. It is addressed to The President of the United States and to The Members of the 82nd Congress.

I think you will agree that this appears to be a typical Communist-front "peace" petition circulated at front meetings and elsewhere, with the obvious purpose of paralyzing our will to resist Communist aggression. This petition was circulated in 1952 in the course of the Korean conflict. I might add that today we are afflicted with the same Communist "peace" appeals, while Communist aggression continues in Laos, South Vietnam, Berlin, and other global points.

I would like to ask whether you can identify that petition?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And I would like to ask you the further question: What did this petition have to do with civil rights?

Mrs. BROWN. It had nothing to do with civil rights. The Communists use civil rights as a sugar to catch the flies for the poison.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me read to you a portion of that exhibit:

Isn't a conference cheaper than a battleship?

We, the people of the United States of America, believe that peace is the most important issue of 1952.

We believe with the people of all nations and their leaders that peace can and must be reached by agreement now.

* * * * *

We want an end to the fears of atomic destruction.

We, therefore, respectfully and earnestly call on the President to convene a Conference of the Great Powers * * * to reach an agreement that will end the threat of war and the bankruptcy of continued armament.

Did you find that this sort of petition had been frequently circulated at your front gatherings and meetings in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did. Civil rights is the sugar to entice the people. And after they get an audience, then they feed them the poison. And that petition is the poison.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Do I understand you to say that the front objective was to utilize humanitarian appeals, such as civil rights, so that they would attract people to the meetings and create an audience at

which they could then feed them the poison, which was this type of propaganda?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee has in fact received a great deal of testimony, Mrs. Brown, from which it concludes that the Communist front is organized solely to advance the cause of the World Communist Movement, and for the protection of Communists, while masquerading under humanitarian appeals and disguising its objectives as a struggle for civil rights or for peace and freedom, or similar cause.

One chief target of attack has always been our security agencies and security laws, which the Communists seek to discredit and indeed to abolish, for obvious reasons. Were the Communists able to involve the Negro women in this activity through special appeals to them through its front, the Sojourners for Truth and Justice? I am particularly directing your attention to a copy of a petition titled "In Defense of Freedom," issued by the "Defense Committee for Mrs. Myrtle Dennis."

I hand you this petition, identified as Brown Exhibit No. 4, on which your name appears, and indicating that the Defense Committee for Mrs. Myrtle Dennis is "sponsored by the Sojourners for Truth and Justice."

Will you tell us about that?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, Myrtle Dennis was arrested for false passport.

Mr. NITTLE. Did she hold any office in the Sojourners for Truth and Justice?

Mrs. BROWN. She was secretary; we would go around speaking and raising money for the so-called defense of Myrtle Dennis.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know the circumstances in connection with which she was arrested for a false passport?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, she had gone to Russia and given the passport of her sister. It was the sister's age and name, I think it was.

Mr. SCHERER. She made false statements in her application for passport? Is that what you mean?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Who was her lawyer?

Mrs. BROWN. Sam Handelman.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Myrtle Dennis and Sam Handelman and others speak on behalf of Myrtle Dennis at meetings sponsored by that organization?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, they did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hear some of those speeches?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I attended most of them.

Mr. NITTLE. What did they talk about?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, one of the things: They talked about how the Government had acted in a Gestapo way and manhandled Myrtle Dennis and had taken her away from her baby.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they identify the Gestapo?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, who they called the Gestapo is the FBI. Those are the people that the Communist Party call the Gestapo.

Mr. NITTLE. Their No. 1 enemy?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And where did these people speak?

Mrs. BROWN. In different homes around. All of the homes they could get into.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they speak to any civic organizations?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. I went with Myrtle one morning to the Elks Lodge, one Sunday morning, and she spoke there with a small audience, and there were several places that we went around to speak.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Sam Handelman, her lawyer?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know Sam Handelman. I know Sam Handelman as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist meetings with Sam Handelman at Bertha and Milton Tenenbaum's home and at Yetta Land's home and others; Myrtle Dennis' home.

Mr. SCHERER. As you attended these meetings and saw these people at these closed Communist Party meetings, did you report that information and those findings to the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you make written reports to it?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. You certainly have a good memory. I see that you do not have any notes at all in front of you.

Mrs. BROWN. Thank you.

Mr. NITTLE. I again call your attention to Exhibit 4, the Myrtle Dennis Defense Committee exhibit. Mrs. Dennis is described thereon as one "who has made significant contributions to the cause of peace and freedom."

What contributions did Myrtle Dennis make to the cause of peace and freedom?

Mrs. BROWN. The only thing I know she did was to go to Russia and come back and praise it.

Mr. NITTLE. She was making a contribution, then, to—

Mrs. BROWN. To Russia. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. That kind of "peace" is the peace of the grave, is it not?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. She told me one day that she would rather be in France in poverty than in the United States in luxury.

Mr. SCHERER. We get so many of the left-wing crowd who are crying crocodile tears about people like her not receiving passports, or being deprived of passports; those who go abroad and denounce the United States and its policies.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, I now turn to the matter of a banquet styled "The Lincoln-Douglas Freedom Banquet," which took place on February 28, 1953, at the East Side Hungarian Workers' Home, 11123 Buckeye Road, Cleveland, at which the advertised guest speaker was Benjamin S. Careathers. It was held under the auspices of the Freedom Committee.

Information in the possession of the Committee on Un-American Activities indicates that the speakers were Frieda Katz, of the Ohio Bill of Rights Conference, and Mary Turner, who spoke on the Sojourners for Truth and Justice and the Myrtle Dennis case. Other speakers at that affair were E. C. Greenfield, who was also known, I believe, as Elvador C. Greenfield, and Bill Haber. At this banquet, petitions on behalf of Myrtle Dennis, issued by the Defense Committee for Mrs. Myrtle Dennis, were distributed.

Now, it appears that this so-called Lincoln-Douglas Freedom Banquet was utilized for the same purpose as the Civil Rights Assembly, to get a mass audience and then to feed them with propaganda aimed to accomplish Communist objectives; in this case, the defense of Communists. There were several Communists who were in attendance at that banquet, and I shall direct your attention to several and ask whether you can give us a word or two about them.

Did you know James Wells, who is identified as chairman of the Ohio Bill of Rights Conference?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know James Wells as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended numerous closed Communist meetings where James Wells was present at Frieda Katz' home, at Jean Krehmarek's home, and all over the city of Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Wells hold any official position in the party?

Mrs. BROWN. He was chairman, I think chairman of civil rights.

Mr. NITTLE. The Ohio Bill of Rights Conference?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And also of the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, they are one and the same.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he occupy an official position in any of the clubs of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Not that I know of.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Mary Turner, who spoke on Sojourners for Truth and Justice, a member of that organization?

Mrs. BROWN. She attended two or three meetings, but I don't know whether she was actually a member.

Mr. NITTLE. Was she a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Mary Turner? I know Mary Turner as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings with Mary Turner at Margaret Wherry's home, Sarah Roberts' home, and Myrtle Dennis' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you know Mary Turner to be active in the Communist Party in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. From the early 1950's until the latter 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. E. C. Greenfield?

Mrs. BROWN. I know E. C. Greenfield to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where E. C. Greenfield attended. E. C. Greenfield was also a defendant under the Smith Act.

Mr. NITTLE. I see. Bill Haber?

Mrs. BROWN. Bill Haber I know as a Communist. I have attended several closed Communist meetings where Bill Haber attended. At Frieda Katz' home, at Bill Haber's home, at Don Rothenberg's home, and many more.

Mr. NITTLE. Over how long a period of time did you know him to be active in the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. I am sure it was from the early 1950's, until he married and left Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. NITTLE. Robert Decker?

Mrs. BROWN. Robert Decker I know as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Robert Decker attended at Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss'

home, and many others. Robert Decker is not living in Cleveland proper now, I heard.

Mr. NITTLE. Hortense Mitchell?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Hortense Mitchell and her husband, Melbourne Mitchell, to be members of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist meetings with Hortense and Mel Mitchell at Don Rothenberg's home and others.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, you have mentioned Don Rothenberg a number of times today in your testimony. You identified him as a Communist?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. And you have told us about a number of closed Communist Party meetings that were held in his home?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. I would like to make an observation, if I may, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Go right ahead.

Mr. SCHERER. When I first came on this committee, the first year I was on this committee, the committee was holding hearings in Dayton, Ohio. At that time, of course, we did not know that Don Rothenberg was a member of the Communist Party. The evidence in those hearings, as it developed, showed that Don Rothenberg had come into the city of Dayton, Ohio, about a week in advance of the hearings, and he prepared a petition attacking this committee, and that petition was signed by numerous members of the clergy and educators in the Dayton area.

It is obvious that they joined in a petition that was prepared by a well known, hard-core Communist; they, of course, at that time not knowing that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Just an illustration of how these things work.

Mr. TUCK. What do you mean by a closed meeting of the Communist Party? Do you have a password?

Mrs. BROWN. No, but no one is admitted except the dedicated Communists.

Mr. TUCK. What tests do you apply to determine whether or not they are Communists?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, each Communist knows.

Mr. TUCK. Someone vouches for them?

Mrs. BROWN. No. You just know who is a Communist.

When you go into the Communist Party, you know the Communists from the non-Communists.

Mr. TUCK. I do not know how you would do that unless you had some password.

Mrs. BROWN. Well, they are introduced. Communists are introduced to a person as a member of the Communist Party or as a comrade. And if you work closely with them, you will understand.

Mr. SCHERER. These are usually small meetings, are they not?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; the closed Communist Party meetings since the middle 1950's were naturally three or four people. But from 1948 until the early 1950's, just as many as could attend, would attend; did attend, rather.

Mr. TUCK. So, then, one who is not known personally by you to be a Communist would be vouched for by someone whom you know to be a Communist?

Mrs. BROWN. I didn't hear that.

Mr. TUCK. I say: So if you did not know of your own personal knowledge that someone was a Communist, then someone in the group known to be a Communist would vouch for that person as a Communist, and identify him in his presence?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, it is a matter of personal identification, in the case of a stranger. It is a matter of personal identification by someone in the group known to the other members of the group as a Communist?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right, yes. That is correct.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I observe that it is 3 o'clock. I suggest we take a 5-minute recess to give the witness and the reporter a break.

Mr. DOYLE. The meeting will stand in recess for 5 minutes on the request of the gentleman from Michigan.

(Short recess.)

(Present as the session reconvened were Representatives Doyle (presiding), Scherer, Johansen, and Bruce.)

Mr. DOYLE. The subcommittee will come to order. A quorum is present.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mrs. Brown, I have noticed that throughout your testimony there have been very extensive references to the organization and the activities of the group known as the Sojourners for Truth and Justice. I am interested to know if there is a relationship between this—and I believe you have identified this as a Communist-front group?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Is there a relationship between the name of this organization and the name of a very distinguished colored woman of the Civil War days and thereafter by the name of Sojourner Truth?

Mrs. BROWN. I am sorry to say, Mr. Johansen, there certainly is. It is named from this wonderful woman.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I was intensely interested, first of all because Mrs. Sojourner Truth lived in her later years and died and is buried in my hometown of Battle Creek. She was a very admirable person, a close friend of Abraham Lincoln. I can well imagine the shock she would have to have her name associated with this type of activity.

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. I do not recollect, Mrs. Brown, whether you concluded your identification of Hortense Mitchell and her husband, Melbourne Mitchell, as members of the Communist Party.

Mrs. BROWN. I know Hortense Mitchell and Mel Mitchell as members of the Communist Party. I attended closed Communist Party meetings in Hortense Mitchell's home and in Myrtle Dennis' home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Over what period of time were the Mitchells known to you to be active in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. From the early 1950's until about the latter 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. The advertisement for the Lincoln-Douglas Freedom Banquet indicated that the speaker was Benjamin S. Careathers.

Did you personally know Benjamin S. Careathers as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Benjamin Careathers was not a citizen of Cleveland, Ohio, but he did come to Cleveland several times to speak, and I know him as a member of the Communist Party. I attended closed Communist Party meetings where he attended at Frieda Katz' home.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I might note for the record that Benjamin S. Careathers was identified as a member of the Communist Party by Matthew Cvetic and Hamp L. Golden in hearings before this committee. Mr. Golden testified as late as March 10, 1959. He identified Ben Careathers as a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Pittsburgh in 1946 and as being among the Communists controlling the Civil Rights Congress in that area.

It may be of interest that Ben Careathers was the Communist Party candidate for Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania in 1938, and Communist Party candidate for State treasurer of Pennsylvania in 1940.

I understand that the Sojourners for Truth and Justice was dissolved by the Communist Party in the year 1956. Can you tell us about the circumstances of that dissolution?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. The Sojourners for Truth and Justice was a Negro organization, a Negro women's organization, and they tried to keep it that way, and the white women Communists did not want it that way.

I had a call to go to New York City. I was sent to New York City by Elsie Zazrivy at one time, and met Louise Patterson. And I didn't know at the time that the white women wanted to break up the Sojourners for Truth and Justice. And Louise Patterson told me that they did, and she wanted me to go with her to several of the Communist meetings in New York City to explain to the women that we wanted a Negro women's organization, the same as the white women had.

And they seemed to feel that the Negro women were not toeing the Communist line, and they didn't want it that way. And it was broken up, eventually broken up, a few months after I left New York City.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, there were Negro women in the other Communist groups where the white women were, were there not?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, some of the white women Communists had clubs of their own where there are no Negro women.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean they would not allow Negro women in their Communist clubs?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I wasn't even allowed in the one in Cleveland.

Mr. DOYLE. I thought the Communists did not believe in discrimination or segregation.

Mrs. BROWN. Well, that is only what they say.

Mr. NITTLE. I judge from what you say, and may we conclude that you mean to say, that the Sojourners for Truth and Justice was dissolved in effect because the Negro women were getting out of hand and not following Communist objectives of "class struggle"?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct. You see, the Negro women were truly trying to fight for civil rights. And the Communists only had civil rights for propaganda.

Mr. NITTLE. That is very important testimony.

Of course, Communist doctrine with relation to reform movements—and civil rights would be a reform effort—expressly commands Communists to avoid reforming non-Communist society. As a matter of fact, this is basic Communist doctrine. Marx declared in an address to the Central Committee of the Communist League in March 1850:

For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation * * * not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one.

Stalin, in discussing the foundations of Leninism, said:

To a revolutionary * * * the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms * * * are naturally transformed into instruments for disintegrating this regime, into instruments for strengthening the revolution, into a base for the further development of the revolutionary movement.

The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work * * *.

It is well known that any genuine effort to reform society, whether through advocacy of civil rights or otherwise, is a deviation from Communist directives; and this was again made clear in the 81 Communist Party Manifesto issued at Moscow recently, which in effect declared "reformism" to be heresy. If you sincerely make an effort peaceably to reform society and to promote reforms, you would be disciplined or expelled from the Communist Party for such deviation from policy. Communists use the reform idea to advance "class struggle," to agitate and disintegrate non-Communist society.

This explains what you have so well brought to the attention of the committee, that the reform idea advocated by a Communist is really the sugar by which he draws the non-Communists to the poison which will prostrate non-Communist society.

Mr. BRUCE. I would like to ask a question for a matter of clarification.

You have testified earlier that the Sojourners for Truth and Justice was a Communist organization. Is that correct?

Mrs. BROWN. A Communist-front organization.

Mr. BRUCE. A Communist-front organization?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. BRUCE. A moment ago you testified that the Communist Party wished to dissolve, to break up, the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, if I understood you correctly, because it was not following the party line. Was I correct?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, you see, the Negro women had gotten together in the Sojourners for Truth and Justice.

Mr. BRUCE. The non-Communist Negro women?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, well, it was a Communist front, but they had non-Communists and Communist women in there, too.

Mr. BRUCE. This is the point I am trying to determine, here. The non-Communist Negro women got together in concern over what was happening to the group?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, and they were really trying to fight for civil rights.

Mr. BRUCE. The non-Communists?

Mrs. BROWN. The non-Communists, yes.

Mr. BRUCE. In other words, the Communist Party began to lose control over the Sojourners?

Mrs. BROWN. They were beginning to lose control.

Mr. BRUCE. At this point the Communist Party then determined that it was to their advantage to break up the organization?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you.

Mr. SCHERER. While we have this interruption, did I understand you to testify earlier that you attended a closed Communist Party meeting in Shaker Heights, in the Shaker Heights area of Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes. I attended several closed Communist Party meetings in that area.

Mr. SCHERER. Shaker Heights? Do you remember any specific address, or any specific home?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, now, I wouldn't say exactly Shaker Heights, but it was in that area. And I really don't remember the addresses. I know that I attended Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum's home in that area.

Mr. SCHERER. Did they live in Shaker Heights, or just in the Shaker Heights area? Did these two people whose names you have just mentioned live in Shaker Heights, or live in the Shaker Heights-Cleveland Heights area?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I think it was the Cleveland-Shaker Heights area. I am not so sure about those areas.

Mr. SCHERER. Were these colored people, or white people?

Mrs. BROWN. White people. Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum.

That is the area where Yetta Land lives, and where Freida Harris lives, and Frieda Katz. It is around in that area.

Mr. SCHERER. Shaker Heights is a rather well-to-do, expensive residential neighborhood, is it not?

Mrs. BROWN. In the area where the Tenenbaums live and the Lands live, it is not too expensive. It is moderate living, there.

Mr. NITTLE. In response to the question of Mr. Scherer, you mentioned Freida Harris. Did you mean to say you knew her as a member of the Communist Party, or did you mention her in some other connection?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I do know Freida Harris as a member of the Communist Party in Cleveland. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings at Freida Harris' home and Frieda Katz' home.

Mr. SCHERER. Where does this Freida Harris live, as nearly as you can recall?

Mrs. BROWN. I am very sorry, but since I have left Cleveland, I really am afraid to—

I could drive there if I lived in Cleveland, but I really don't know the name of the street. It is in the same vicinity of the Tenenbaums, over in that area.

Mr. BRUCE. We have an unusual request; that we ask this witness not to work quite so close to the microphone.

Mr. NITTLE. There has been a request further to clarify an activity in which the Sojourners were involved, and about which you testified briefly. That was your visit to Florida in the Moore murder case effort. I think there was a question raised, as to the circumstances

of your going to Florida in that manner. What was the background of that, briefly?

Mrs. BROWN. I went to Florida, and it seems to me I did tell you about that.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, you told us about that, but there was a request, a suggestion, that the matter be elaborated.

Mrs. BROWN. My experience, you mean, there?

Mr. SCHERER. How it happened that you went to Florida.

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I went to Florida as a delegate to the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, during the Mims murder case.

I say "Mims," but the man was Moore. He was Mr. Moore, one of the officials of the NAACP, but it was in Mims, Florida, that he lived.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, did your trip for the Sojourners for Truth have anything to do with the murder case? What was the connection?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, we went there to talk to the Governor.

Mr. SCHERER. The Governor of Florida?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. To grant him clemency? To give him probation, or to reduce his sentence?

Mrs. BROWN. No. Mr. Moore, one of the officials of the NAACP, was murdered in Mims, Florida. We went there to the Governor to ask him to find the murderer of this Moore man.

And one of the things that we tried to impress on the Governor—that we were interested in the Moores—in fact the Communist Party wanted to take over in place of the NAACP. They wanted to use this as a means of——

Mr. SCHERER. Stirring up dissension?

Mrs. BROWN. Wanted to use this as a means of denouncing—no, that wouldn't be the word that I want to say.

Mr. SCHERER. To agitate?

Mrs. BROWN. That was one word.

To discredit the NAACP. That is the word in a nutshell. The Communist Party, as a rule, whenever anything happened to the Negro, always have tried to take a front seat in everything; and in order to discredit the NAACP and to barge in on the NAACP's activities. And we went to Mims, Florida, because we thought that we would have a real—we could go before the public and get more people in the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, and it would be one of the things that we could do to help in the membership of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, the enemies of the exploiters wanted to exploit in this case, to gain membership?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, to gain membership through this exploitation of the Moore murder.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire: Did you see the Governor of Florida?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, we saw him.

Mr. DOYLE. How many of you were granted an interview? How many in the party?

Mrs. BROWN. Just about six or eight.

Mr. DOYLE. How many of those six or eight were active members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I didn't know them all. There were about three or four Negroes and about probably three or four whites.

Mr. SCHERER. From different parts of the country?

Mrs. BROWN. Maybe so. But I know Angie Dickerson was there, and I knew her. I did not know the others. I don't remember any of the others. But we left Tallahassee and went back to Jacksonville, and there they tried to start a race riot in Jacksonville, by going in one of the restaurants.

Mr. DOYLE. Who did?

Mrs. BROWN. Angie Dickerson.

Mr. DOYLE. While you were present?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. What steps were taken to start a race riot by Angie Dickerson in your presence?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, there was a "no colored" sign there in the airport in Jacksonville, and everyone decided that they wanted something to eat, all except me. I stayed in the car, and the rest of them—there were two Negro men and Angie Dickerson—they went in and demanded service. And they were refused service. So they came out and started a pretty big ruckus, and they called the Governor, and the Governor sent policemen out there.

Mr. SCHERER. At that time were you an undercover operative or informant for the FBI in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you report this to the FBI?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean you did all of these things with these known Communists, these men and women that were known to you to be Communists, and yet you were an FBI operative or informant all this time?

Mrs. BROWN. Sure.

Mr. DOYLE. And they did not know it?

Mrs. BROWN. No.

Mr. DOYLE. I did not know they were that dumb.

Mr. BRUCE. I think we ought to reverse that, that it is wonderful that she is that smart.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I think the testimony will reveal that toward the end there was some suspicion among the Communist Party members, and I believe the witness will relate that, and that suspicion led to Mrs. Brown finally vacating the Cleveland area and going to California.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, we are glad that she came to California. But I really did not think that so many of the Communists were that dumb. They are apparently not as smart as they think they are.

Mrs. BROWN. I am very sure they are not.

Mr. SCHERER. The FBI is plenty smart.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes. She was FBI, you see.

Mr. NITTLE. While you are on the subject of race riots, could you tell us whether or not the Communist Party attempted to stimulate race riots in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. I remember one incident, during the Till murder case. During the Smith Act trials in Cleveland, I attended a meeting at the Civil Rights Congress, and as I was leaving with Frieda Katz and James Smid, we were talking about the Till boy's murder, and Frieda said, "Isn't it terrible? All of these good things are happening, and we have to go to trial."

So later on, in attending the Smith Act trial, one night Frieda Katz called me around 10 o'clock and said that the Till boy was hanging under some bridge in effigy, and for me to call all the newspapers and all of my friends and get them down there. And I told her that I would.

Mr. NITTLE. You said they were going to hang the Till boy in effigy?

Mrs. BROWN. He was already hanging in effigy, and she wanted me to get the newspapers and all of my friends, all of the Negroes, and get them at this place where the Till boy was hanging in effigy.

Mr. SCHERER. You say Frieda Katz said to you that the Till murder case was one of the "good things" that was happening?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. What did she mean by that, if you know?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, yes, sure I knew what she meant. She meant that that was just one of the things that they commercialize on and use for bait; that in reality they cared nothing about the Till boy's murder.

Mr. JOHANSEN. It is another case of exploiting?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. It is another case where you have the sugar to catch the flies, to feed the poison.

Mr. DOYLE. And to raise money.

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. And they raised thousands of dollars from that Till murder.

Mr. NITTLE. It is suggested by your testimony with respect to the dissolution of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice, that the Communists may not have trusted the Negro women as Communists. Do you have any experience in the Communist Party with respect to the question whether the Communist leadership trusted the Negro?

Mrs. BROWN. No. They do not trust the Negro, because in fact they will only let one or two, and no more, get high in office.

I feel it is because the Negro is too religious, and the Communist Party don't believe in God. And the Negro was trained, in his heredity he was raised that way. And when he is duped into the Communist Party, he still somehow carries God with him; unless he is a real dyed-in-the-wool Communist and in the beginning he never believed in God.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever meet a Communist, or know a Communist who at any time in any discussion with you said anything to you favorable to the American people's belief in worship or going to church or worshipping God?

Mrs. BROWN. No. Never in favor of it. Only the ones that have infiltrated the churches. They talk about religion.

Mr. DOYLE. But it is phony talk?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. Did you ever see the American flag in any Communist meeting?

Mrs. BROWN. Never.

Mr. DOYLE. Neither did I ever hear of one being there.

Mr. SCHERER. I thought there was no infiltration of this country.

Mr. DOYLE. You what?

Mr. SCHERER. I thought there was no infiltration of the churches of this country.

I am facetious when I say that, Mr. Chairman.

The witness just said they only talk about religion when they succeed in infiltrating the churches. We have been told so many times that there was no such infiltration.

Mr. DOYLE. There is no place they do not try to infiltrate. They are a bunch of hypocrites, as far as patriotism to the United States or religion is concerned.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. We will pass to another organization, which was formed expressly to involve the Negro people, to which you referred, namely, the National Negro Labor Council, organized at a founding convention in Cincinnati, on October 27-28, 1951.

You were later selected as treasurer of the Cleveland branch of that organization, were you not, Mrs. Brown?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you participate in the founding convention as a delegate from the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. I am referring to the founding convention of the national organization.

Mrs. BROWN. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Who were the leading delegates from the Cleveland area participating with you at that convention?

Mrs. BROWN. Myrtle and Ray Dennis, Fred Gardner, Bert Washington, who is deceased, Ethel Goodman, Carlotta Rufus Hight.

Mr. NITTLE. How do you spell that last name?

Mrs. BROWN. Hight, H-i-g-h-t, I think. I really don't know exactly.

Mr. NITTLE. Was her maiden name Carlotta Rufus?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, Carlotta Rufus.

Did I mention Fred Gardner?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, you did.

Mrs. BROWN. Many, many others that I would remember if recalled to me.

Mr. NITTLE. Cleveland area delegates?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, these were Cleveland people.

Mr. NITTLE. I do not believe you have identified on the record whether Fred Gardner was a member of the Communist Party.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. Fred Gardner and his wife, I think—I think her nickname was Lee Gardner, but I am not so sure—were members of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist meetings at Fred Gardner's home several times and at Frieda Katz' home and others in the early 1950's. Later they moved from Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know where they moved when they left Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. I did not. I heard they had moved some place in Denver. I am not sure where they had moved to.

Mr. NITTLE. You have identified the others, with the exception of Carlotta Rufus.

Mrs. BROWN. I know Carlotta Rufus as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with Carlotta at Carlotta's home, at Myrtle Dennis' home, and Margaret Wherry's home.

Mr. NITTLE. Over how long a period of time did you know her to be active in the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. From the early 1950's until she later became inactive. She told me that she was going to school, taking a teacher's course.

Mr. NITTLE. Who appointed you to be a delegate to the national convention of the National Negro Labor Council in Cincinnati? Do you recollect how that appointment occurred?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, but I don't recall at this moment.

Mr. NITTLE. Who appointed you treasurer of the Cleveland branch of that Council?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, we had a meeting after we came from Cincinnati, and I was appointed treasurer. I know Fred Gardner was present at this meeting, and a man named Hirshberg.

Mr. NITTLE. What kind of meeting was this?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, this was a closed Communist meeting.

Mr. NITTLE. You say a man named Hirshberg was present. Who was Hirshberg?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I never did know the exact title that he had, but as far as I was concerned, he was an overseer of the Negro Labor Council.

Mr. NITTLE. What was his full name?

Mrs. BROWN. Herb Hirshberg, I believe. Herbert Hirshberg.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know Herbert Hirshberg to be a Communist. I have attended closed Communist meetings where Herbert Hirshberg attended. He is connected, I think, with the United Electrical Union.

Mr. NITTLE. It is committee information that he was or is an international representative of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, and as a matter of fact, Herbert Hirshberg has been identified as a member of the Communist Party by Victor Decavitch in public hearings before this committee on July 14th, 1950. Mr. Decavitch stated that Herbert Hirshberg was sent to Cleveland as a replacement for Fred Haug as the United Electrical representative.

Did you know a Fred Haug while in the Communist Party in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; and Fred Haug was one of the delegates at this convention, too, I remember. I know Fred and his wife, Marie Haug, as members of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Marie and Fred Haug were present at Don Rothenberg's home, at Marie and Fred Haug's home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. I show you a booklet, identified as Brown Exhibit No. 5, which contains a record of the proceedings of the founding convention of the National Negro Labor Council. It is titled "Get on Board the Freedom Train," and I ask whether you can identify it.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may it be understood that the above exhibit and future documents introduced during these hearings, be identified by number and inserted in the record or retained in committee files, as the case may be.

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, without objection being heard, that may be the procedure.

BROWN EXHIBIT No. 6

(Daily Worker, September 13, 1951)

National Labor Parley For Negro Rights Set

By ABNER W. BERRY

Negro workers from local unions and shops throughout the nation will meet Oct. 27 and 28 in Cincinnati, "to establish a permanent organization" dedicated to fight for "nothing less than full freedom of the Negro people and an end to the era of second-class citizenship."

The announcement of the scheduled meeting was made by William B. Hood, secretary of the CIO United Auto Workers Ford Local 600, who addressed a mass meeting Monday night in defense of Louis Weinstock, a trade unionist victim of the Smith Act. Hood is also president of the National Negro Labor Council (provisional) established in Chicago in June, 1950.

It is the aim of the Cincinnati conference-known officially as the Founding Convention of the National Negro Labor Council—to promote nationwide unity of Negro workers around a program and leadership that "will not be content with small individual victories," the convention call declares. "This leadership the call continues, 'will be content with nothing less than full freedom for the Negro people.'"

The call is addressed to "all Negro workers and their white union

brothers and sisters," and asks that delegates to the convention be "sent by local unions, departments, shops, or by rank-and-file committees and other people's organizations." Bitz Ballroom, 1002 Central Ave., in Cincinnati, will house the meeting.

Hood said Negro workers from coast to coast, some in remote towns in Mississippi, had written him expressing their determination to attend the convention. But he had some sharp critical words on the reactions to the conference by "our white allies." "There are some white trade union officials," he charged, "who seem afraid of Negro solidarity." Because of this fear, he said, not many local unions had supported financially the effort to "mobilize the greatest organized strength of the Negro workers."

Some Negro workers had written him, Hood related, saying that "they would be in Cincinnati if

they had to come in a horse and wagon." Hood said that despite a poor financial condition "we are not turning back. We are going to Cincinnati if we have to walk there."

The convention call reflects the dynamic enthusiasm of Hood in its ringing summons:

"The cry for freedom that rings forth throughout the world from the throats of hundreds of millions of oppressed colored peoples, stirs the smoldering fires of freedom that burn in the breasts of America's Negro people. It creates the need for a new kind of leadership that will move forward into the death struggle with our oppressors and the vanquishers of mankind."

The national headquarters of the National Negro Labor Council is 260 East Vernon Highway, Detroit, Mich.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I also offer for the record a report of the convention of the Council appearing in the *Daily Worker* on September 13, 1951, identified as Brown Exhibit No. 6.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 6" appears on opposite page.)

Mr. NITTLE. I also offer for the record additional articles concerning the convention of the National Negro Labor Council held in Cincinnati in October 1951: (1) from the *Daily Worker* of September 25, 1951, entitled "On The Way—Negro Workers Must Fight A Lot of Racist Pressure"; (2) an Associated Press report under date of October 11, 1951, entitled "CIO To Fight Red-Inspired Negro Council."

(Documents marked "Brown Exhibits Nos. 7 and 8," respectively, and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. I would like to make express reference to Exhibit 8, which is the Associated Press report under date of October 11, 1951. This report notes the opposition of CIO officials to the National Negro Labor Council convention as "Communist inspired." It also contains a statement from Roy Wilkins, then administrator of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who voices his opposition to the formation of this National Negro Labor Council.

Roy Wilkins is quoted as having said that the NAACP was on record against Communist infiltration and activity and—

would not support in any way an effort to split the CIO—by Communists especially—nor would we look with favor or encourage in any way the setting up of separate Negro labor organizations.

I understand, Mrs. Brown, you also attended the second annual convention of the National Negro Labor Council, which was held at the Municipal Auditorium in Cleveland on November 21–23, 1952.

I show you a copy of the report of that convention, identified as Brown Exhibit No. 9, which at page 5 contains a photograph of the executive board of the Cleveland Negro Labor Council, in which you appear as treasurer, together with officers of the Cleveland board. Do you identify your photograph on that exhibit?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. As treasurer, did you handle the money of the Cleveland branch?

Mrs. BROWN. No, I did not. I was treasurer in name only.

Mr. NITTLE. Who got the money?

Mrs. BROWN. The Communist Party received the money.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us whether or not, to your personal knowledge, any of the members of the executive board named in that exhibit have been known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Shall I call the names out?

Mr. NITTLE. Just identify those officers. I did not number them. My count indicates that there are 13 officers listed and photographed as members of the executive board. Of that number, would you tell us those persons whom you can identify as members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Fred Gardner.

Mr. NITTLE. You previously told us about him.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Ethel L. Goodman.

Mr. NITTLE. And you previously told us about her.

Mrs. BROWN. Carlotta Rufus.

Mr. NITTLE. And you have told us about her.

Mrs. BROWN. Florence Romig.

Mr. NITTLE. I do not believe you had completed the identification of Florence Romig. Would you tell us how you knew Florence Romig to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I had attended closed Communist Party meetings with Florence Romig at Bert Washington's home.

Mr. NITTLE. Was she a Cleveland resident?

Mrs. BROWN. As far as I know, yes; but I lost contact with her, too, in the middle 1950's. She was in another area.

The other one is Lew Jennings, the husband of Ethel Goodman.

Mr. NITTLE. The same Ethel Goodman whom you have previously identified?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. Lew Jennings was the husband of Ethel Goodman Jennings.

Mr. NITTLE. How did you determine that Lew Jennings was a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Lew Jennings was present at Ethel Goodman's home, Margaret Wherry's home, Frieda Katz' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. I note on Exhibit No. 9 that Ethel L. Goodman is designated as executive secretary. Do you identify her as being a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mrs. BROWN. At that time Ethel Goodman was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did she continue active in Communist Party work?

Mrs. BROWN. No, she did not. She went over into the "ultra-left," you might call it, organization, called the POC.

Mr. NITTLE. Those initials POC are quite well known in some respects, if I may suggest its full name to you, as the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. Is that what you mean?

Mrs. BROWN. Provisional Organizing Committee, yes. They shortened that name to POC.

Mr. NITTLE. We propose, Mrs. Brown, to question you about the POC later. I would like to return to this second annual report to which we were referring.

I note also that a Cleveland, Robert Decker, was in attendance at the second annual convention of the National Negro Labor Council. You have previously identified him as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Were any persons known to you to be non-Communists members of the Negro Labor Council?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes. The Negro Labor Council was run on the order of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice. They had non-Communist members. But it was dominated by Communists.

Mr. NITTLE. It was a front organization?

Mrs. BROWN. It was a Communist-front organization.

Mr. NITTLE. And had hoped to draw in non-Communists, of course?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right—they did.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me ask you whether these people who were non-Communists, and drawn into the organization, were given any voice in the selection of the leadership of the organization?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, no. That doesn't happen in the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. There are certain persons which information in the possession of the committee indicates were in attendance at the second annual convention of the National Negro Labor Council at Cleveland. I am going to name certain persons I believe to be in the Cleveland area. We want to determine whether or not to your certain knowledge they were members of the Communist Party.

Of course, the objective of these identifications is to determine the extent of Communist support and action within the organization, and also to enlighten the committee and the Congress as to the extent of Communist activity in this area. This has a distinct legislative purpose. The committee must determine whether there is a menace and, if so, what is its extent, so that it may determine finally whether it is necessary to make recommendations upon this subject, and what they may be.

I will proceed to give those names.

Libby Gisser?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Libby Gisser to be a member of the Communist Party. When I first met Libby, she was in the Communist Youth League. I have been in closed Communist meetings with Libby Gisser at Frieda Katz' home and my home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. How long do you recall her as being active in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. From the early 1950's to the middle 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Carlos Grubbs.

Mrs. BROWN. Carlos Grubbs. I know Carlos Grubbs and his wife to be members of the Communist Party. I think her name was Vivian. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings with Carlos Grubbs and his wife. His wife is the daughter of Bert Washington. I attended closed Communist meetings in Carlos Grubbs' home several times.

Mr. NITTLE. Anton or Anthony Halamak?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Anthony Halamak to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Anthony Halamak was present at Frieda Katz' home several times. He is also connected with some newspaper, I think.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you known Anthony Halamak to be active within the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Since the early 1950's, until I left Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Frank Hashmall?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Frank Hashmall to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist meetings where Frank Hashmall attended at Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss' home, and Edith Lumer's home. Frank Hashmall lived in Akron, Ohio.

Mr. SCHERER. Hashmall was the head of the Communist Party in Ohio for a while, was he not?

Mrs. BROWN. In Ohio? He was connected somehow, but I was a new member then, along about that time, and I didn't know too much about Hashmall, because at the time he lived in Akron.

Mr. NITTLE. Our records indicate that Frank Hashmall was a member of the Ohio State Committee of the Communist Party in 1949. He was identified in that capacity in testimony given by David W. Garfield, who had been in the party from 1941 until 1952.

Mr. SCHERER. Hashmall served time in the Ohio penitentiary, too, but I cannot remember what the charge was. It involved some illegal acts concerning transportation of an automobile, et cetera. That is my best recollection on it.

Mr. NITTLE. Admiral Kilpatrick?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Admiral Kilpatrick to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended numerous closed Communist Party meetings where Admiral Kilpatrick was present. Admiral Kilpatrick was chairman of the POC. He was also expelled from the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. He was expelled from the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. We will deal with him more at length when we inquire into the POC.

Mr. DOYLE. Was he an actual admiral in the Navy?

Mrs. BROWN. That is just his name, his first name.

Mr. NITTLE. Joseph Krause?

Mrs. BROWN. Joseph Krause I know as a Communist. Joseph Krause and his wife, Mildred Krause. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where they were present. They were also members of one of five clubs where I was treasurer—the Communist Party clubs.

Mr. NITTLE. Joe Kres?

Mrs. BROWN. Joe Kres and his wife, Cheda Kres. I know Joe and Cheda Kres to be members of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Joe Kres and Cheda Kres were present. It has been quite a while since I have seen them. I lost connection with them, too—Joe and Cheda Kres.

Mr. NITTLE. Did they remain in the Cleveland area, or did you lose contact with them altogether?

Mrs. BROWN. I lost contact with them altogether.

Mr. NITTLE. Can you offer an explanation, in general, with respect to the apparent cessation of activity of some of the Communists you name, or have named, at or about the mid-1950's? Did anything occur that would drive the party underground at that time? Did the party tighten security?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. After the Smith Act, there were 11 Communists arrested on the Smith Act. That is right. When the 11 Communists were arrested under the Smith Act, they did tighten security, and they were very secretive after that.

Mr. NITTLE. William A. Livingstone? You have told us about Blanche Livingstone. Was she the wife of William A. Livingstone?

Mrs. BROWN. She was.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know William A. Livingstone as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do. I know William Livingstone as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where William Livingstone attended at Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss' home.

Mr. NITTLE. Martha Rautio?

Mrs. BROWN. Martha Rautio I know as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings at Martha Rautio's home where Martha Rautio and her husband, Uno, were present. At one time Martha Rautio told me—during the Smith Act trials—she asked me not to reveal it—that she had a job at the airport in Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Paul J. Shepard?

Mrs. BROWN. Paul J. Shepard I knew as a Communist, and attended closed Communist meetings where he was present, in 1948. I lost contact with Paul Shepard also in the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. I might note for the record that Paul J. Shepard was also identified as a member of the Communist Party by witness J. Janowitz in the 1951-1952 Report of the Un-American Activities Commission, State of Ohio.

* * * * *

Mr. NITTLE. Ruth Lencl, which I believe is the spelling of her name.

Mrs. BROWN. I know Ruth Lencl as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings with Ruth Lencl at Ruth Lencl's home, at Sally Chancey's and Martin Chancey's home, and others. Ruth Lencl is a member of the Communist Party clubs in which I was treasurer.

Mr. BRUCE. May I interject, Counsel?

You used the term "is." You are using it with reference to the time that you were in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. I didn't understand you.

Mr. BRUCE. When you use "is" in the present tense, as you have quite often today, when you say "know them as," what you mean is that you "knew them as"—at the time you were there?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you state how long you knew Ruth Lencl to be active in the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Since the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. James Smid?

Mrs. BROWN. James Smid I know as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings with James Smid at the Communist Party office and at Frieda Katz' home and several homes. I have known James Smid as a Communist since the early 1950's until the time I left Cleveland.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Counsel, in response to the question regarding the name immediately preceding, I believe the witness referred to meetings in the Martin Chancey home. My memory is not as good with respect to testimony of a few hours ago as hers is with respect to matters she is testifying to. Was he identified by the witness as a member?

Mr. NITTLE. I do not believe she has as yet identified him, and I thank you for calling that to my attention.

You have mentioned Martin and Sally Chancey. Did you know Martin Chancey to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Martin and Sally Chancey as dedicated members of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where they were present.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know whether or not Martin Chancey occupied any position of leadership?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, he did.

Mr. NITTLE. I might state, Mr. Chairman, for the record, that several witnesses in the past have identified Martin Chancey as a member of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, Martin Chancey was at one time secretary of the Communist Party in Washington, D.C.

Mrs. Martin Chancey has likewise been identified in sworn testimony before this committee. She was identified by Mary Markward on June 11, 1951.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all for today, Counsel, that you wish to question?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. We will not have time for questions by the committee now, but we will begin tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

But Mr. Scherer has a statement he wishes to make.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I have a statement to make for the record.

I received a letter from Rev. Dr. Willis E. Elliott, Secretary, Department of Evangelism, Board for Homeland Ministries, United Church of Christ. He lives in Cleveland.

This letter has been given wide circulation. It is a scurrilous attack on the Committee on Un-American Activities. One does not expect this kind of a letter from one of the lowest persons in our society, much less a minister of the Gospel. It rather nauseates and disgusts me that some member of the clergy and some others like him in the Cleveland area use their clerical robes to give weight to their unfair and false charges.

Of course, they feel free to engage in this type of billingsgate, because they realize that a man in public office is severely handicapped and hesitant to criticize or denounce a member of the clergy in reply.

In his letter, Dr. Elliott prates about his being committed to the truth. Yet there is no truth in his letter.

What do we find in the first paragraph of the letter, which he uses as an excuse for his attack on the committee and its work? Here is what Dr. Elliott says in the first paragraph of his letter to me under date of May 24:

Violation of your own rule that the names not be made public prior to the hearing date, the identity of the subpoena-recipients has been given most excellent publicity (by your design or by irresponsible management of your staff).

Let me state without reservation that I know as a matter of fact that no member of this committee, its staff, or any of its employees, directly or indirectly, leaked the names of the witnesses subpoenaed for these hearings to the press. As the chairman of this committee stated at the opening of these hearings this morning, he has asked the Attorney General to investigate the matter, to prosecute those responsible for illegally giving out this information.

Dr. Elliott wrote a letter to Chairman Walter, similar to the one he wrote to me. Mr. Walter on June 1 wired him as follows:

Our investigation discloses that no member of this committee or its staff had anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the publication in Cleveland, Ohio,

of the names of witnesses subpoenaed by this committee. I call upon you to advise me whether or not you have any information as to how the press obtained the names, as our investigation of the matter is continuing.

Listen carefully to Dr. Elliott's reply in his telegram under date of June 3 to Chairman Walter:

Your telegram just reached me. The earliest public reference was in the May 11th and 12th *Cleveland Press* Robert Crater articles. I regret that I have no other names to give you nor do I have any other information about this leak, but I respectfully thank you for your inquiry.

It is obvious that Dr. Elliott made the charge against the committee without any basis in fact whatsoever. He read the names of the witnesses in the newspapers. He then went about smearing the committee, charging it had violated its own rules by design or irresponsible management, and had given the names to the press.

He and others in the Cleveland area used this false charge as an excuse for an all-out attack on the committee and its members. They preached sermons and wrote letters. Their attacks were aired on radio and television.

Joining Dr. Elliott in these false charges are the American Civil Liberties Union and the Americans for Democratic Action. Of course, you can expect this, because over the years they have been soft on communism. The ACLU has appeared in case after case, in hearing after hearing, in support of Communists and Communist causes. Over the years they have kept up an unrelenting attack on the anti-Communist organizations in this country.

It is passing strange that Dr. Elliott and his cohorts remained strangely silent when the names of witnesses called before any of the other investigating committees of the Congress appear in the press before the hearings. I refer particularly to the witnesses called in the rackets investigations.

These people have also remained strangely silent when the press carries the names of witnesses called before grand juries, even though grand jury hearings under the law are secret.

Dr. Elliott, the ADA, the ACLU, and their like, don't seem to care about the civil rights of these people. Why is it they constantly go overboard for the dedicated Communists whose goal is the overthrow of this Government?

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will stand in recess until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning, and the witnesses are instructed to return.

(Whereupon at 4:40 p.m., Monday, June 4, 1962, the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Tuesday, June 5, 1962.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE CLEVELAND, OHIO, AREA

Part 1

TUESDAY, JUNE 5, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, of California; Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio; August E. Johansen, of Michigan; and Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana.

Also present: Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin. (Appearance as noted.)

Staff members present: Alfred M. Nittle, counsel, and Neil E. Wettermann, investigator.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Will you call your first witness, Mr. Nittle?

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Julia Brown, would you please come forward?

TESTIMONY OF JULIA C. BROWN—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Brown, you have been sworn.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, when the committee recessed yesterday we were discussing the Negro Labor Council, a Communist-front organization, and your activities in it. I show you a copy of a concert program, dated May 6, 1952, identified as Brown Exhibit No. 10.

It appears thereon that this was a "cultural evening" presented on that date by the Cleveland branch of the National Negro Labor Council, featuring Paul Robeson to be held at the Paradise Auditorium, 2226 East 55th Street, Cleveland. Your name, together with several others, appears as a sponsor for that affair.

Together with that exhibit I hand you copies of two leaflets distributed at that cultural affair, one titled "Meet Mrs. Vivian Hallinan," and the other titled "Have You a Choice," identified as Brown Exhibits Nos. 11 and 12, which are campaign literature on behalf of the Progressive Party's candidates for President, Vincent Hallinan, and Vice President, Charlotta Bass. The latter exhibits carry the

Progressive Party platform, which includes, as one might expect, an advocacy of the immediate end of the Korean war, then in progress.

Do you recognize these exhibits?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do.

(Documents marked "Brown Exhibits Nos. 10, 11, and 12" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Information in the possession of the committee indicates that approximately 600 persons were in attendance at that affair. Were you in attendance at that affair?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hear Paul Robeson sing?

Mrs. BROWN. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, certain persons about whom we wish to inquire appear on Exhibit No. 10 as sponsors of that cultural evening, along with others who do not appear upon the list of sponsors, but which, our information indicates, were in attendance. We would like to determine whether you can identify the following persons, not previously identified by you, who were to your certain knowledge, members of the Communist Party.

Oscar Brownlee?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Oscar Brownlee as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Oscar Brownlee was present, in Oscar Brownlee's home, William Cooper's home, Frieda Katz' home, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you know him to be active in the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Since 1948. I might add that Oscar Brownlee has two homes, one of the homes in the central area of Cleveland. The POC met there several times——

Mr. NITTLE. That is the Provisional Organizing Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. A splinter group of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him to be active in the Communist Party until the time you left Cleveland in 1960?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I will say until about 1959.

Mr. NITTLE. What happened in 1959?

Mrs. BROWN. I didn't see him after 1959.

Mr. NITTLE. Pete Wnorowski, W-n-o-r-o-w-s-k-i?

Mrs. BROWN. Pete Wnorowski I know as a member of the Communist Party of Cleveland. I have attended several Communist Party meetings where Peter Wnorowski was present at Frieda Katz' home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. About how old a man was Peter Wnorowski?

Mrs. BROWN. Pete Wnorowski is in his late 60's or 70's. He is an elderly man. I don't know very much about ages, but he is not a young man at all, and I won't call him a middle-aged man.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would offer in evidence an item from *The Worker* of October 15, 1961, at page 11. It is a statement to *The Worker* by Peter Wnorowski, whose name has also been spelled, W-n-e-w-r-o-s-p-h-s-k-y. The item is as follows:

THE WORKER carries out the best traditions of the "Appeal to Reason," which I read in the past. On my 83d birthday I donate \$100 plus \$5 from a

friend to *The Worker*. It is a paper of struggle for Peace, Democracy and Socialism. Best of luck for the "Midweek Worker." Peter Wnewrosphsky, Cleveland, Ohio.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 12-A" and retained in committee files.)

Abraham Eleff?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Abraham Eleff as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Abraham Eleff attended, at Sylvia Strauss' home, Frieda Katz' home, and others. Abraham Eleff runs a seafood market on Kinsman Avenue.

Mr. NITTLE. Morris Hybloom?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Morris Hybloom as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Morris Hybloom attended at Sylvia Strauss' and Frieda Katz' homes. In the middle 1950's or early 1950's, I lost track of Morris Hybloom. I had attended Communist Party meetings which he attended in 1948.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you after that time in a different section of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, in testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board on March 17, 1952, a witness, John Edward Janowitz, then of Cleveland, Ohio, testified that Morris Hybloom was a member of the Communist Party and that he knew him as a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland Pneumatic branch.

Joseph Kamen?

Mrs. BROWN. Joseph Kamen and his wife Norma Kamen I know as members of the Communist Party. I attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Joseph and Norma Kamen were present at Bill Haber's home, at Sylvia Strauss' home, Frieda Katz' home, and others. I have known them since 1948.

Mr. NITTLE. Sally Winters?

Mrs. BROWN. Sally Winters I know as a Communist. I have attended several closed Communist Party meetings where Sally Winters was present at Sylvia Strauss' home, Frieda Katz' home, and others. I have known Sally Winters since 1948.

Mr. NITTLE. Is she now known as Sally Winters Morillas, M-o-r-i-l-l-a-s?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, that is her married name. Could I add that after I left the party in 1948 Sally Winters came to my home in 1949 with the *Daily Worker* and asked me to subscribe to it and wanted to know why I didn't come back into the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know what her activities had been and who her associates may have been at that time in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I do know that her associates were Frieda Katz, Sylvia Strauss, and—do you mean in 1949?

Mr. NITTLE. During the period you knew her to be active.

Mrs. BROWN. I knew her to be active in the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you give us a word or two about her—

Mrs. BROWN. More active in the early 1950's—I was in her presence more in the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. With whom did she associate most closely in the party to your knowledge?

Mrs. BROWN. Frieda Katz, Sally and Martin Chancey.

Mr. NITTLE. Henry R. Siegel, S-i-e-g-e-l?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Henry Siegel to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended several Communist Party meetings where Henry Siegel was present. I have known Henry Siegel since 1948.

Mr. NITTLE. And how long did you know him to be active in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Until the middle 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. What happened at that time, if anything?

Mrs. BROWN. He happens to be another one that I lost track of. Although I saw him at several social gatherings in the late 1950's, I attended closed Communist Party meetings with him in 1948 and in the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. What do you mean by social gatherings?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, Communist Party social gatherings, parties that the Communists would have for the members.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you describe the type of party that you are referring to? What was the purpose of the Communist Party social gathering?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, in order to make money, they would have social gatherings where each of the members would bring the food and they would sell drinks and food, and they would tell the members what propaganda was to be spread among the public. Now, at some of the social gatherings, they would have meetings preceding the social gathering, and then later in the evening they would have meetings for people who did not attend the earlier meeting. These meetings would sometimes last until 6 or 7 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the social gatherings combined business with pleasure?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. All of the social gatherings combined business with pleasure, especially when it was in a private home. In some of the public places it was different, but at all private home gatherings they had meetings.

(At this point Chairman Walter left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did they take occasion to celebrate each other's birthday?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. Very often it would be a birthday given and really the person didn't know anything about their birthday. For instance, if your birthday came in January sometimes they would call a member and tell him that his birthday was that March, or April, or June. We always had different birthdays than the date that we were really born on. That was in order to attract the members of the Communist Party to these parties.

Mr. DOYLE (presiding). How many birthdays a year did you have for that purpose?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, you see, my birthday is in January and maybe one would call and say, "You're having a birthday this month." Maybe it would be March. Well, if any of the Communists didn't know exactly what date my birthday was, then we would have a party for my birthday, although it would not really be my birthday.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you suggest that when the party needed to raise a little money they would tell respective members that "You are going to have a birthday party"?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. They would go to any means to raise money, any means.

Mr. NITTLE. Were they successful in raising money this way?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, very successful.

Mr. NITTLE. Elsie Tarcai, T-a-r-c-a-i. Did you know her?

Mrs. BROWN. I know Elsie Tarcai to be a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Elsie Tarcai attended at Milton and Bertha Tenenbaum's home and at Yetta Land's.

Elsie Tarcai was introduced to me at my home. Frieda Katz brought her there during the Smith Act trials. Elsie Tarcai wanted me to mortgage my home for \$2,000 for the purpose of assisting in the Smith Act case.

Later I was taken to Elsie Tarcai's home, where she and her sister, Violet Tarcai, lived. I was introduced to Violet as Comrade Violet, Elsie Tarcai's sister.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the occupation of Elsie Tarcai?

Mrs. BROWN. She is a lawyer.

Mr. NITTLE. Practicing law in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. She was.

Mr. NITTLE. What do you mean by she was?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I couldn't say now. I don't know whether she is now.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the occupation of her sister, Violet Tarcai, whom you have just mentioned?

Mrs. BROWN. I think Violet Tarcai is a lawyer. I didn't have as much contact with Violet Tarcai as I did Elsie.

Mr. NITTLE. You described Violet being introduced to you as Comrade Violet?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have further identification of her as a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. In the early 1950's I remember attending a closed Communist meeting where Violet and Elsie were present.

Mr. NITTLE. Myron Thomas?

Mrs. BROWN. Myron Thomas I know as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended closed Communist Party meetings where Myron Thomas attended in Cleveland, at Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss' home, and Margaret Wherry's home. Myron Thomas comes from Akron, Ohio. He is not a resident of Cleveland. At least, he was not at that time. I have known Myron Thomas since 1948.

(At this point Mr. Johansen left the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I ask to place in the record a further identification of Myron Thomas as a member of the Communist Party. He was identified as such by a witness, Mae Probst, in Ohio Commission hearings in 1953.

Mr. DOYLE. Very well.

Mr. NITTLE. George Tomsik?

Mrs. BROWN. George Tomsik I know as a member of the Communist Party. I attended several closed Communist Party meetings where

George Tomsik was present at Frieda Katz' home, Sylvia Strauss', and others. I have known George Tomsik since 1948. In the early 1950's I was not connected with him, only at social gatherings.

Mr. NITTLE. By social gatherings, are you again referring to social gatherings of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you and he in separate sections or clubs of the Communist Party after the mid 1950's?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

(At this point Mr. Johansen returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did the Communist Party allow members of one club to meet with members of another club after the Smith Act cases had been instituted?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, no, they were very secretive after that, very secretive. Some of the members didn't come in contact with other members at all.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand that the National Negro Labor Council dissolved in 1956. An article in the Communist *Daily Worker* of May 1, 1956, at page 3, indicates that the dissolution occurred as a result of proceedings instituted against it under the Internal Security Act of 1950.

Mr. Chairman, I offer this article in the record as Brown Exhibit No. 13.

(Document marked "Brown Exhibit No. 13" follows.)

BROWN EXHIBIT No. 13
(Daily Worker, May 1, 1956)

Dissolve Negro Labor Council

DETROIT, April 30 (FP).—
Coleman A. Young, executive secretary of the National Negro Labor Council, has announced dissolution of the organization after five years of activity in behalf of Negro rights.

Action was taken because of orders to appear before the U. S. subversive activities control board. Coleman said:

"We are unwilling to subject our thousands of members and supporters, who are innocent of any wrongdoing, to the loss of jobs, blacklisting, and other forms of persecution entailed in the registration requirements of the unconstitutional McCarran Internal Security Act. The same kind of effort is being made to destroy the NAACP in the south.

Will you tell us briefly of the steps taken for the dissolution, if any, of the Cleveland area branch of the National Negro Labor Council?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, the dissolution actually began several months before the action of the Subversive Activities Control Board. It was being dissolved for the same reason that the Sojourners for Truth and Justice was dissolved. In the Negro Labor Council they had quite a number of non-Communists and, although the Communist Party dominated the Council and were leaders of the Council, there were non-Communists who wanted to fight in the American way or in the way they thought would be American. Of course the Communist Party didn't want that, and the Council somehow was not toeing the party line. They were trying to deviate in some manner and the party stopped the pay of Ethel Goodman who was secretary.

She was getting \$75 a month and they stopped her pay. Of course, they stopped the pay of the chairman, Bert Washington, at that time. Then the organization didn't function as well.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you remain as treasurer of the Cleveland branch of the Negro Labor Council until the time of its dissolution?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I only remained the treasurer in name. I did not receive the money of the Council at all.

Mr. NITTLE. Who received it?

Mrs. BROWN. The Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. And did the Communist Party pay Ethel Goodman's salary?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. During the time she was the executive secretary?

Mrs. BROWN. They did.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know other instances where the Communist Party maintained full-time employees upon its payroll to carry out its work of deception and destruction?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, Ethel Goodman was one.

Mr. NITTLE. You knew her as a paid employee?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any knowledge whether Elsie Zazrivy, who occupied the Communist offices of the Ohio Committee for Protection of Foreign Born on Euclid Avenue, was a paid employee?

Mrs. BROWN. I am not sure of that. I know Edith Lumer was a paid employee. I know Mamie McCurdy is a paid employee.

Mr. NITTLE. Mamie McCurdy?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes; Mamie Abernathy McCurdy. She works for the United Electrical Union.

Mr. NITTLE. In what capacity?

Mrs. BROWN. Stenographer or typist.

Mr. NITTLE. Working as a stenographer for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. That is the union which was expelled from the CIO in 1949 as being Communist dominated?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right, and the one that Marie Reed Haug and Fred Haug had. Carlotta Rufus was a paid employee of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. There was a bookstore being operated full time in the Communist Party headquarters on Euclid Avenue. Do you know whether Morris and Frida Kreitner received any compensation?

Mrs. BROWN. I talked with Frida Kreitner when they were moving out of the bookstore at 5103 Euclid Avenue. She told me at the time that they hadn't been living so well, so I am thinking that she did not have a very good salary. She was paid once in awhile. Sometimes the Communist Party does that, too, and she was so happy that she was going to get more money. She said it was now time that she and her husband would live and have what they wanted and I don't know of anything that Frida is doing for the Communist Party but to infiltrate the NAACP.

Mr. NITTLE. This bookstore, maintained at the Communist headquarters on Euclid Avenue, contained certain books and literature. Of what type, would you say?

Mrs. BROWN. All Communist literature.

Mr. NITTLE. You told us yesterday about the instructions and indoctrination you were receiving at the home of Sylvia Strauss, where you met in closed Communist Party meetings, or with a neighborhood cell or club. Did you receive any Communist literature from Sylvia Strauss to read or that you were asked to read?

Mrs. BROWN. Not at that time. Later we were asked to read several types of literature that I could only identify and I can't remember the names. Somehow I never read them. When I was given them I threw them away and I really cannot remember the names. One, may I say I can remember, was something like the "Manifesto," a Communist pamphlet.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recall the name of any other literature?

Mrs. BROWN. I don't know. They have so many of those kinds of documents. I am sorry. I can't remember right now.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Brown, we are going to turn to another subject, the POC. You have told us that Ethel L. Goodman, who was at one period the executive secretary of the Cleveland Negro Labor Council, had left the Communist Party and joined an organization which is titled the "Provisional Organizing Committee" to which you referred by its initials, POC. Our committee in its annual report to the Congress for the year 1959 dealt briefly with it. Our information reveals that this group was formed in August 1958 by a number of Communist Party members who, being dissatisfied with the trends and policies of the Communist Party, U.S.A., referred to themselves as a Marxist-Leninist Caucus, and called for the formation of a Provisional Organizing Committee for the reconstitution of a Marxist-Leninist Party, the POC. The POC group was composed largely of extreme left-wing elements of the Communist Party, elements which Khrushchev would describe as "dogmatists," "adventurists," or "left" sectarians—in short, they were radicals of a radical movement.

This extreme left-wing element is in contrast with another deviationist group, the soft right-wing group, led by John Gates. This group was too soft in the "class struggle," and its conduct was severely condemned at Moscow as "right opportunist." Both of these elements, the ultra-left POC, and the right-wing group of the John Gates variety, were expelled from the Communist Party for refusing to submit to Moscow leadership. As a matter of fact, this committee dealt in great detail at its hearings in November 1961 with this very subject. We clearly proved by documentary evidence, as well as by the testimony of witnesses, that the Communist Party does not tolerate dissent.

The split in the Communist Party ranks within the United States was precipitated here, as it was elsewhere and in other parties throughout the world, as a result of the Khrushchev denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Soviet Party Congress in 1956. On the weekend of August 16, 1958, 83 national delegates assembled in New York City for a "Communist Conference." That is what it was termed by the POC leaders—a "Communist Conference."

Mr. SCHERER. What was that date, did you say?

Mr. NITTLE. That, Mr. Scherer, was August 16 and 17, 1958. The official newspaper of this dissident group, called *Vanguard*, in September 1958, reported on the major developments at this meeting.

Mrs. Brown, do you have personal knowledge of the actual organization of the POC at its national convention in New York City? Were you in attendance at that convention?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Who interested you in the POC movement originally in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Admiral Kilpatrick, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. And did you have discussions with him about this proposed convention, or about the POC organization that was in contemplation?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, yes, several times he came to my home and asked me to become a member, and later this group participated in the POC conference in New York City.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Admiral Kilpatrick hold an office in the POC group?

Mrs. BROWN. He was chairman of the Cleveland district.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us what he told you about this organization in which he was seeking to interest you?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I questioned him about the Communist Party and wondered if they were not the same and why did he want to organize a different, an ultra-left, organization, and he said that the Communist Party was bought out by the Government and that—

Mr. NITTLE. I see Mr. Forer, who is the attorney for the Communist Party in its appeal on the Internal Security Act, smiled when you said that the Communist Party was bought out by the Government. Of course, they contend otherwise.

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. The Communist Party. I don't mean Mr. Forer. He is the attorney.

Mr. FORER. Do you contend that it was?

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forer, we don't contend that the Communist Party was bought out by the Government. We contend that the Communist Party is trying to destroy the Government. Now, would you proceed, Mrs. Brown?

Mrs. BROWN. Of course that was Kilpatrick's word. He said that the Communist Party was bought out by the Government and that they were now quiet about the overthrow of the United States Government by force and violence, and that they, the POC members, were preaching that to the house tops. They were telling the people that the only way to conquer the United States was by force and violence, and now the Communist Party was saying that it could be done by

"peaceful coexistence." That was what Kilpatrick told me and that is why they have the different organizations.

Mr. NITTLE. Kilpatrick wanted to destroy the Government immediately, whereas the "peaceful coexistence" idea was to destroy the Government later, and that was too long for him to wait?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, it seemed that the Communist Party was not preaching that after the Smith Act trials.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to say that the prosecutions by the Department of Justice under the Smith Act had an effect upon the open preachings within Communist Party ranks with respect to force and violence?

Mrs. BROWN. It certainly did.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to these prosecutions by the Department of Justice they preached to your groups in cell meetings, and openly advocated destruction of the government by force and violence, did they?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes, but after the Smith Act trials, then they began to ease off of that quite a bit.

Mr. NITTLE. And I believe that yesterday you did testify that prior to the Smith Act trials you were taught the necessity of revolution?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. At the home of Sylvia Strauss?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. You told us that Admiral Kilpatrick was trying to interest you in the POC movement, which of course would result in the breakup of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area if all members joined the POC. Did you call this fact to the attention of the Communist leaders in your section?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Who was your section leader?

Mrs. BROWN. Jean Krcmarek.

Mr. NITTLE. And that is the wife of Anthony Krcmarek, the head of the Communist Party of the Ohio district.

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us with whom you had discussion on the subject of the POC?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I talked with Jean Krcmarek and Ruth Lencl and told them that I had attended several of the meetings, and Ruth Lencl suggested that I go ahead and keep attending and let them know what was happening. Well, I did for a while. I guess I attended five or six meetings. Then later after I began to complain about how the Communists were treating me, Jean decided that I had better stop attending the meetings of the POC.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you mean to suggest that Jean Krcmarek became concerned, for you were now beginning to criticize the Communist Party after being at POC meetings?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. She thought you were being influenced?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct. They thought that maybe I would go into the POC.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, let's recess the committee for a few minutes so the reporter and the witness can rest.

(A brief recess was taken.)

Mr. DOYLE. The committee will come to order, please. Are you ready, Counsel?

Let the record show a quorum of the subcommittee is present.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Admiral Kilpatrick successful in interesting other Communists in the Cleveland area in the POC movement?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, he was.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us about that briefly?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, Ethel Goodman was a member of the POC and a Communist. Bob Williams was a member of the POC and a Communist.

Mr. NITTLE. Just a moment. We have information that an Esther Williams was a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area. Is she in any way related to Bob Williams whom you have mentioned?

Mrs. BROWN. No, she isn't. Esther Williams is white and the wife of George Williams.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Esther Williams to be a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know Esther Williams to be a Communist. I have attended closed Communist meetings with Esther Williams at Frieda Katz' home and others.

Mr. NITTLE. And over how long a period did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. Since the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Until when?

Mrs. BROWN. Until I left Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know her husband, George Williams?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I know her husband, George Williams. I haven't attended any closed Communist Party meetings with George Williams.

Mr. NITTLE. You do not identify him as a member of the Communist Party to your certain knowledge?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, as far as attending closed Communist Party meetings I don't identify him, but as far as I am concerned he was a Communist.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he support the activities of his wife, Esther Williams, in the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. He did. I have also heard George Williams make large pledges to the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. You say you have heard him?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you yourself personally hear him making pledges?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were these pledges of money to the Communist Party made by George Williams?

Mrs. BROWN. It was made in one hall on Auburn Avenue. I have forgotten the name of the hall where the Communist Party held a lot of their banquets and affairs, and I have heard him make a pledge as high as \$500, and I heard him make a pledge on Buckeye Road at the Hungarian Hall.

Mr. NITTLE. I gather from what you say that the Communist Party makes very heavy financing demands upon its members?

Mrs. BROWN. They do.

Mr. NITTLE. You have mentioned Ethel Goodman as a member of the POC?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And Bob Williams?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Were any other persons known to you to have defected to the POC movement?

Mrs. BROWN. James Jackson, who was secretary.

Mr. NITTLE. Secretary of the POC, the Cleveland group?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Of course you are not referring to the James E. Jackson, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, U.S.A.?

Mrs. BROWN. No, I am not.

Mr. NITTLE. And you know, however, both James Jacksons?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know James Jackson of Cleveland to be a member of the Communist Party prior to his being involved in the POC movement?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, he was. He was in the youth movement with Libby Gisser at one time.

Mr. NITTLE. Youth movement? Do you refer to the Young Communist League?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Emma and Fred Mehrl.

Mr. NITTLE. You identify them as being a part of the POC movement?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, and members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior thereto?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And over how long a period did you know Emma and Fred Mehrl to be members of the Communist Party in Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. From 1948 until I left Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Were there any other persons that you knew in the Cleveland area as members of the Communist Party who defected to the POC movement?

Mrs. BROWN. Joe Petraus, but he infiltrated the POC for the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. He didn't leave the party?

Mrs. BROWN. No, he did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know any other members of the Communist Party who defected to the POC movement? Was there a James Wells who got himself involved in any way in the POC movement?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, James Wells attended a few meetings, but he stopped attending the meetings of the POC.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know James Wells as a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. I knew James Wells. I know James Wells as a member of the Communist Party. I have attended numerous closed Communist Party meetings where James Wells was present.

Mr. NITTLE. Over how long a period of time did you know James Wells to be a member of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. Since the early 1950's.

Mr. NITTLE. Until when?

Mrs. BROWN. Until I left Cleveland.

Mr. DOYLE. When you say you knew James Wells to be a Communist, you mean that you knew him at the time that you lived in Cleveland as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. You haven't known him as a Communist since that time?

Mrs. BROWN. No, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, in every instance that you use the present tense you are referring to the period prior to 1960, prior to your leaving Cleveland?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. SCHERER. When did you leave Cleveland? What month?

Mrs. BROWN. In June of 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend the National Conference of the POC?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did that take place?

Mrs. BROWN. You say the national conference?

Mr. NITTLE. I asked whether you attended the Communist conference which was set up by the Marxist-Leninist caucus group, the POC.

Mrs. BROWN. Well, we had a conference in Cleveland.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have a conference in New York of the POC?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes, I attended that, too.

Mr. NITTLE. Now we are interested first in that National Conference of the POC which met in New York in August of 1958. Did you attend that in New York?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us the circumstances under which you attended that? With whom did you go and what did you do when you got there?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, I drove in my car with Ethel Goodman and Admiral Kilpatrick. At least my husband drove the car because he didn't think that Admiral could drive a car well enough, and he went along with us. It was late that evening when we got there and I remember now that two other members of the Communist Party in Cleveland were made officers of the POC and their names are Joe and Florence Dougher.

Mr. NITTLE. D-o-u-g-h-e-r?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right. They are living in Pennsylvania.

Mr. NITTLE. Now?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Were they at that time residents of the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. And were they members of the Communist Party in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. BROWN. They were members of the Communist Party. There was another couple by the name of Bethencourt, Lucille and Albert Bethencourt. They were also members of the Communist Party in Cleveland, who went to Chicago as organizers for the POC.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Joe Dougher assigned to any organizational activities for the POC?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes. He holds an office in the POC and is also an organizer in the Pennsylvania area.

Mr. NITTLE. What happened when you arrived in New York? Did you visit any other person——

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. —or persons with Admiral Kilpatrick?

Mrs. BROWN. We stopped at the home of another couple who were members of the POC. Her name was Nona Black. Black was her maiden name and I have forgotten her last name, she and her husband. I have forgotten his name too.

Mr. NITTLE. Who directed you to Nona Black's home in New York?

Mrs. BROWN. Admiral Kilpatrick. We all stopped there together, Admiral Kilpatrick, Ethel Goodman, my husband and I.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you then with this group attend the National Conference of the POC?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, we did. I think the POC, the convention lasted two or three days, but we were a day late.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us in substance what were the discussions in the convention to which you were a party?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, they were denouncing the Communist Party and making fun of some Communist by the name of Jesus, and they seemed to enjoy talking about the man that was named Jesus.

Mr. NITTLE. They weren't referring to Jesus of the Bible, were they?

Mrs. BROWN. No, and this man was named Jesus and they thought that was very funny.

Mr. NITTLE. They thought that the fact that the man was named Jesus was very funny?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, and at that time they said he was a Communist. It seemed that this man had been fighting and talking against the POC, and they were talking about this man they called Jesus.

Mr. NITTLE. What else did they discuss at the convention?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, all I could hear was—to tell you the truth, I slept most of the time, but all I could hear when I happened to wake up would be their denouncing the Communist Party. Truly, I cannot give you a real good description of that meeting because in most of the meetings I was simply so tired that I just slept them out.

Mr. NITTLE. The subjects they discussed were quite boring?

Mrs. BROWN. They were boring to me.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recall any discussions that were directed toward Stalin and Khrushchev?

Mrs. BROWN. I remember discussions about the Communist Party following Khrushchev and that the POC people were in favor of Stalin. Yes, that was very clear, too, that these were in favor of Stalin and that Khrushchev denounced Stalin and his work, and the Communist Party of course was on the side of Khrushchev. That was one of the reasons the POC formed this ultra left organization, because they still thought more of Stalin.

Mr. NITTLE. Having been told that Stalin was a genius for so many years by the Communist Party it was not easy to shift so quickly at the behest of the Moscow leadership, then dominated by Khrushchev?

Mrs. BROWN. No.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recall any discussions at the national conference with respect to setting up local organizations of the POC throughout the United States?

Mrs. BROWN. Oh, yes, the chairmen of these different cities were to set up new offices all over the United States. At one time Nona Black's husband stopped at my home on his way to Los Angeles to set up a branch there. I am very sorry I cannot remember his name, but he stopped at my home for three or four days.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there in fact a State convention of the POC held in Ohio?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, there was.

Mr. NITTLE. Subsequent to attendance at the national conference?

Mrs. BROWN. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend that?

Mrs. BROWN. I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Approximately how many persons do you remember as being in attendance at the Ohio convention of the POC group?

Mrs. BROWN. Well, it was probably 35 or 40, they were all from all over.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you left Cleveland in June of 1960, was there still at that time an active POC group in the area?

Mrs. BROWN. As far as I know.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, we would ask to have Mrs. Brown stand aside while we interrogate another witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Very well. Mrs. Brown, if you will please step aside for a moment or two we will call another witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Will Ethel Goodman please come forward?

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Goodman, will you please raise your right hand and be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you, God?

Mrs. GOODMAN. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you. Be seated.

TESTIMONY OF ETHEL L. GOODMAN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID E. SLOAN

Mr. NITTLE. Would you please state your name for the record?

Mrs. GOODMAN. Ethel Goodman.

Mr. NITTLE. I see, Mrs. Goodman, that you are represented by counsel. Would counsel kindly identify himself?

Mr. SLOAN. My name is David E. Sloan, member of the bar, District of Columbia.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Goodman, where were you born and when?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I don't understand the pertinency of that question.

Mr. DOYLE. The pertinency of it, Mrs. Goodman, is that the Congress under the law, we believe, is entitled to know who the witness is. It is a question of identity, that's all. We are entitled to know who you are.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I do not wish to involve myself or my relatives, and again I do not understand the pertinency of that question, as to how it would——

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't hear what you said last.

Mrs. GOODMAN. I do not understand the pertinency of the question.

Mr. SCHERER. You said something after that which I didn't understand.

Mrs. GOODMAN. I do not wish to involve my relatives.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Before I do that, Mrs. Goodman, we are not asking you about your relatives. We are asking where you were born, not where your relatives were born. We believe it is always pertinent to have the identity of the person who is the witness. We are certainly entitled to that and I instruct you to answer the question. We are not asking about your relatives, where they were born. We don't care where they were born.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I object to answering the question because I feel that my relatives will be unduly involved and again I do not understand the pertinency of the question.

Mr. DOYLE. Proceed, Counsel, with the next question.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you formerly reside in Birmingham, Alabama?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I think it is obvious that we are encountering dilatory tactics here and I suggest that the chairman instruct the witness to answer the question. We are in business. Let's go on with it.

Mr. DOYLE. Counsel, we will give you all reasonable time to confer with your witness.

Mr. SLOAN. I am simply trying to fully understand the position.

Mr. DOYLE. Under the rules of the House, and you know those rules, you are entitled to advise her on her constitutional rights, but not to put the words in the mouth of the witness.

Mr. SLOAN. I understand, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I know your client ought to have her rights, and we have no objection to that, but don't take unnecessary time, please.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer that question. I do not wish to testify against myself. I understand that under the law——

Mr. DOYLE. Will you speak a little louder, please?

Mrs. GOODMAN. I understand that under the law I cannot be forced to testify against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you, Witness, honestly believe if you told us that you at one time lived in Birmingham, that that might lead to a criminal prosecution against you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, when you say grounds previously stated, do you mean that you are invoking the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment?

Mrs. GOODMAN. I understand that under the fifth amendment I cannot be forced to testify against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. In a criminal case.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Then you are invoking that provision of the fifth amendment. Is that correct?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer that question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. NITTLE. The witness, I take it, invoked the fifth amendment in response?

Mr. DOYLE. I direct the witness to answer the question.

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I state as a fact, Mrs. Goodman, that in Birmingham, Alabama in 1932, at a time when you were about 22 years of age, you became a member of the Communist Party, and that you were assigned Communist Party Card Number 6580. Is that true and correct?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I put it to you as a fact that you thereafter transferred your membership to the Communist Party in the Cleveland area, in 1943, and were assigned to the Communist Party in Cuyahoga County, Ohio.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I state as a fact that you were a delegate to the State Convention of the Communist Party of Ohio on June 10, 1944; do you affirm or deny that?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Mrs. Goodman, you were present in the room, were you not, when the previous witness, Mrs. Julia Brown, identified you as a person known to her to be a member of the Communist Party? Was she telling the truth when she so identified you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I object to that question on the grounds of my previous statement and my privacy under the fifth amendment. I cannot be forced to testify against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. You mean you refuse to answer? What do you mean?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. On what basis do you refuse to respond?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer the question on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I put it to you as a fact that you were the executive secretary of the Cleveland branch of the National Negro Labor Council and were employed on that Communist front organization by the Communist Party at a salary of \$75 a month. Do you affirm or deny that?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Julia Brown testified that you have left the Communist Party of the U.S.A., which is its official title, and that you are now a member of the Provisional Organizing Committee. Do you affirm or deny that testimony?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer the question on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand that the organization of which you are alleged to be a member, namely, the POC, takes the view that it is the true Marxist-Leninist party. Would you care to discuss that matter?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. DOYLE. Any questions by the committee members?

Mr. JOHANSEN. No.

Mr. BRUCE. Yes, I have one.

Do you know Julia Brown?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I object to the question on the grounds it violates my rights under the first, fourth, fifth and sixth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Objecting to it is not the same thing as declining to answer under the grounds of the fifth amendment.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. BRUCE. Counsel, would it be proper to have Julia Brown identify this witness?

Mr. NITTLE. If you desire.

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Brown, will you please step over here where the witness can see you?

Mr. BRUCE. Julia Brown, do you identify this witness as the Ethel Goodman you mentioned in your previous testimony?

Mrs. BROWN. Yes, I do.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you.

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Goodman, will you please look at Mrs. Brown? I am not asking you to look at your lawyer. Look at the witness, Mrs. Brown. Do you see her? Do you recognize Mrs. Brown?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I ask the chairman to direct her to answer that question.

Mr. DOYLE. I will direct you to answer the question, Mrs. Goodman, whether or not you can identify Mrs. Brown at whom you have just looked and who has identified you?

Mrs. GOODMAN. I refuse to answer the question on all the grounds previously stated.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you, Mrs. Brown.

Mr. SCHERER. Talk about confrontation, that is it.

Mr. DOYLE. Any other questions? Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Goodman, you are excused.

You are excused, Counsel.

Mr. SLOAN. Thank you.

Mr. NITTLE. Will Margaret Wherry please come forward?

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Wherry, will you please raise your right hand and be sworn? Do you solemnly swear that you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. WHERRY. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you. Have a seat, please.

TESTIMONY OF MARGARET WHERRY, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
HERSHEL SHANKS

Mr. NITTLE. Would you please state your name for the record, Mrs. Wherry?

Mrs. WHERRY. Margaret Wherry.

Mr. NITTLE. I see you are represented by counsel. Would counsel please identify himself?

Mr. SHANKS. My name is Hershel Shanks. I am an American Civil Liberties Union volunteer attorney.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were you born, Mrs. Wherry?

Mrs. WHERRY. Sumter, S.C.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you move to the Cleveland area in Ohio?

Mrs. WHERRY. Oh, '33, 1933.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you a member of the Communist Party, Mrs. Wherry?

Mrs. WHERRY. No.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. WHERRY. No, I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WHERRY. I am not a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. I say, have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the——

Mr. NITTLE. When did you cease being a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOYLE. Just a minute. I instruct you to answer the question, Mrs. Wherry.

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to be a witness against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Julia Brown who has testified here?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. On what basis?

Mrs. WHERRY. On the previous answer, on the previous grounds, to testify against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge of Communist Party activities in the Ohio area?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. Witness, do you feel that if you tell this committee the truth as to whether you know Julia Brown that that might lead to a possible criminal prosecution?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. WHERRY. It may.

Mr. SCHERER. There is a lawyer that knows the law.

Mr. SHANKS. Thank you, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to the time that Julia Brown became a member of the Communist Party, were you sent by Frieda Katz to interview Julia Brown in order to determine her reaction with respect to joining the Communist Party or the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you succeed Julia Brown as treasurer of the Sojourners for Truth and Justice?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did not Julia Brown hand you the sum of approximately \$100 or less—

Mr. SHANKS. I am sorry. I did not get the beginning of that question, Counsel. Would you mind repeating it?

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you became treasurer, and I put it to you as a fact that you did become treasurer, did not Julia Brown turn over to you a sum in the approximate amount of \$100 or less?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you engage in any fund-raising activities of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. On or about the year 1951 did you hold a Communist Party social gathering at your home for the purpose of raising funds for the Communist Party?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I previously stated, the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. And at that gathering were not sales and cash donations amounting to between \$700 and \$800 made by those in attendance?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at that gathering receive money or donations toward the Communist Party from Elsie Tarcai, James Smid, Ethel Goodman, Frieda and Dave Katz, Don Rothenberg, Mildred Rothenberg, Myrtle Dennis?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did that party terminate at 4 a.m. the following morning?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. After 4 a.m., did you then go into a closed Communist Party meeting in the bedroom of your home at which the following were present; namely, Margaret Wherry—you acted as chairman—Frieda Katz, Ethel Goodman, Myrtle Dennis, and David Katz?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. And did not this group at that closed Communist Party meeting in the bedroom of your home in the early hours of the following morning decide what would be done with the approximately \$800 raised at that gathering?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have previously stated?

Mr. NITTLE. Was not the following disposition made of the money, which was decided by the vote of the group in that meeting: To contribute one-third of the funds for the candidacy of Marie Reed Haug, who was then seeking public office?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Marie Reed Haug, then seeking office, on the Board of Education in the Cleveland area?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I have previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Was one-third of that sum agreed to be devoted for the use of a minister in a Methodist church in the Cleveland area?

(At this point Mr. Schadeberg entered the hearing room.)

Mrs. WHERRY. The same answer.

Mr. NITTLE. And was not this a church you had been directed to infiltrate by the Communist Party?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that I will not be a witness against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. Was the remaining one-third of the fund to be applied toward the use of the Communist Party defense fund for the representation of Communists?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds I have previously stated, as being a witness against myself.

Mr. NITTLE. I have no further questions.

Mr. DOYLE. Has the committee any questions?

Mr. BRUCE. Yes. I would again request that the chairman ask Julia Brown to step forward.

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Brown, will you extend the committee the courtesy of returning to the witness chair? Mr. Bruce of the committee wishes to ask a question.

Mr. BRUCE. Mrs. Brown, do you identify the witness, Margaret Wherry, as the Margaret Wherry that you referred to in your testimony?

Mrs. BROWN. I do.

Mr. DOYLE. Mrs. Wherry, you were looking at Mrs. Brown? I ask you to look at her again, please, and tell me please whether or not you recognize Mrs. Brown.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. WHERRY. I would like to know what for?

Mr. DOYLE. I will tell you what for. She has testified that you were a Communist and that she knew you as a Communist in Cleveland. Now that you have looked at her again, do you recognize her as Julia Brown?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to even identify her.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you have looked at her. Do you recognize her as a person you have met?

Mrs. WHERRY. I wouldn't be——

Mr. DOYLE. What is your answer?

Mrs. WHERRY. I said I refuse to identify her.

Mr. BRUCE. On what grounds?

Mrs. WHERRY. I just won't. I wouldn't want to say why. Not here.

Mr. DOYLE. You are invited to say what you wish. Go ahead.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, we are constantly told that persons who were named by witnesses before this committee are not allowed to confront them. Now, you have the opportunity here. You have the witness before you. And I ask you if you recognize her as the Julia Brown that you knew in Cleveland?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of being a witness against myself.

Mr. SCHERER. I just have one question.

Mr. DOYLE. Go ahead.

Mr. SCHERER. Mrs. Wherry, you were in the room when Mrs. Brown identified you as a member of the Communist Party. You heard that testimony, did you not?

Mrs. WHERRY. I heard it.

Mr. SCHERER. I want you to tell us whether or not she correctly identified you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds——

Mr. SCHERER. Was Mrs. Brown telling this committee the truth when she told us about——

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. SCHERER. Wait a minute. Was Mrs. Brown telling this committee the truth when she told us about your activities as a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of just what I previously stated.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't deny her testimony, then, do you?

Mrs. WHERRY. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds that——

Mr. SCHERER. All right. That is all.

Mr. DOYLE. Thank you.

The witness is excused. And counsel.

Mr. SHANKS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

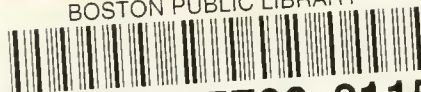
Mr. DOYLE. I think the record calls attention to the fact that here is another case this morning where the witness, claiming her privilege, has been identified by Mrs. Brown in the presence of the witness' attorney and asked whether or not she admitted or denied the testimony and has refused to answer, and has refused to recognize Mrs. Brown, another case of confrontation.

Mr. SHANKS. Mr. Chairman, do I understand the committee to be permitting counsel for Mrs. Wherry to cross-examine the previous witness, Mrs. Brown?

Mr. DOYLE. No. We will recess now until 2 o'clock. The witnesses are instructed to return. The bell has called us to the floor of the House.

(Thereupon, at 11:55 a.m., Tuesday, June 5, 1962, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

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